Salâh ad-Deen al-Ayubi

VOLUME THREE

The Battle of Hattin, the Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade



صلاح الدين الأيوبي

Dr. Ali M. Sallâbi

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IN THE NAME OF

ALLAH

THE ALL-COMPASSIONATE, ALL-MERCIFUL

Salah ad-Deen al-Ayubi

Volume Three

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About the word *Lord*

The word *lord* in English has several related meanings. The original meaning is 'master' or 'ruler', and in this sense it is often used to refer to human beings: 'the lord of the mansion' or 'Lord So-and-So' (in the United Kingdom, for example). The word *Lord* with a capital L is used in the lexicon of Islam to refer to the One and Only God-Allah. In Islam, there is no ambiguity about the meaning of this word. While it is true that one may occasionally use the word *lord* (whether capitalized or not) to refer to a human being, in Islamic discourse the reference of this term is always clear from the context. Whereas for Christians, Hindus and other polytheists, the word *Lord* with a capital L may refer to Allah, to Jesus or to some imagined deity, for Muslims, there can be no plurality of meaning. Allah alone is the Lord, and the Lord is Allah — not Jesus, not Rama, not any other being.

The Editor

PART THREE

The Battle Of Hattin, The Conquest of Jerusalem and The Third Crusade

CHAPTER I: The Battle of Hattin

Salah ad-Deen was able to form a united Islamic front covering a vast area, but the Crusader control of some Syrian coastal cities, in addition to the fortresses of Kerak and Crac de Montreal, represented a tough obstacle in the way of communication between the two main axes of his state, which included Egypt and most of Greater Syria, and part of Iraq. In addition to that, these cities and coastal ports were of great strategic importance because control of them enabled the Crusaders to remain in constant contact with their motherlands in Western Europe. Hence from the beginning of his rule, Salah ad-Deen was very keen to raid these regions; his interest therein also dated back to the days of his viziership in the Fatimid state. In fact, Salah ad-Deen had inflicted heavy losses on the Crusaders in terms of lives and weaponry as a result of the raids that he organized against the cities of the Syrian coast, which prompted the Crusaders — it seems — to think of reducing the pressure on those areas by distracting Salah ad-Deen from them, which they thought to accomplish by raiding the coast of the Red Sea. In addition, they took advantage of their presence in that area to threaten the Islamic holy places so as to strike at Islam in its holiest sites. Nevertheless, events were moving swiftly in Salah ad-Deen's favour.

Events that led to the Battle of Hattin

Death of Baldwin V and its impact on the Crusaders situation

King Baldwin V died in Jumada II 582 AH/August 1186 CE, a few months after his accession, and the Crusaders' internal problems emerged once again because his death led to a serious conflict between the princes for the throne of Jerusalem. Those who were opposed to the regency of Raymond III continued conspiring until they eventually succeeded in withdrawing the regency from him and transferring rule from the child to his mother Sybille, giving her the power to choose the new king, because as a woman she could not rule. Sybille handed the crown to her husband, Guy de Lasagna, as the opponents of Raymond III wanted.

Salah ad-Deen benefited from events occurring in the Kingdom of Jerusalem

During the time that Salah ad-Deen was striving to form a military force equipped with supplies and weaponry, in preparation for a decisive battle against the Crusaders, he avoided any clash with the Crusaders on more than one front, and he did not want to enable his enemy to mobilize their forces or unite their ranks in response to the mobilization of Islamic forces. In 583 AH/1187 CE, he sent word to the people of Aleppo, commanding them to make a peace deal with Bohemond III of Antioch, so that he could focus on jihad against the Crusaders on one front. Salah ad-Deen, who was known for his military skill, also started to take advantage of the difficult circumstances in which the Kingdom of Jerusalem found itself following the marriage of Guy de Lasagna, whose wife had given up her authority to him. He

became King of Jerusalem when she took the crown from her own head and placed it on his, Saying, "My husand is more able and he is more deserving of kingship.”

Count Raymond of Saint Gilles, the ruler of Tripoli, failed to attain that position, and the Templar knights refused to let him rule independently. They asked him to act in accordance with the will which dictated that he was entitled to the regency only, which made him throw himself into the lap of Salah ad-Deen, asking him for help against the King of Jerusalem and the Templers. Salah ad-Deen responded to his call and gave him the help he needed. Thus he managed to gain a new ally among the Crusaders and drive a wedge into the Crusader ranks. In fact an armed confrontation nearly broke out between Guy and Raymond, as Raymond camped in Tiberias and stayed there in a provocative and boastful manner after gathering around him a large number of Crusaders, and urged the sultan to come and help him to regain his kingdom. The King of Jerusalem also gathered a large army and would have attacked Tiberias, had it not been for the intervention of some of the princes, who calmed things down and asked both sides to unite in order to confront the huge preparations that Salah ad-Deen was making. This forced King Guy de Lusignan to march to Count Raymond de Saint Gilles, to placate and appease him. Despite that, it may be said that Salah ad-Deen gained several things from his intervening in Crusader affairs by supporting one of them against the other, the most important of which was the great difference in outlook between Raymond de Saint Gilles and some of the other Crusader rulers, foremost among whom was Reynald de Chatillon, ruler of Kerak. Perhaps this is the reason why the historian Ibn al-Atheer described this alliance between Salah ad-Deen and Raymond de Saint Gilles, despite its short duration, as one of the main factors that led to the conquest of their lands and the rescue of Jerusalem from their clutches. Similarly, Salah ad-Deen made a separate truce with Bohemond III of Antioch, either on the basis of a request from him or at the request of Salah ad-Deen, so that he could rest assured about his rear lines and be free to focus on the south. Raymond III extended his agreement with Salah ad-Deen

so as to include the Galilee region, which thus opened the way for Salah ad-Deen to penetrate between Jordan and Palestine.

Reynald de Chatillon breaks the truce with the Muslims again

Salah ad-Deen's alliance with Raymond III provoked the anger of Reynald de Chatillon, who had made a truce with Salah ad-Deen and was famous for thinking only of himself. Because of this truce, which guaranteed safety and security, caravans had started to travel back and forth between Egypt and Syria, crossing through Crusader territory peacefully. Undoubtedly that also brought benefits to Reynald de Chatillon himself, because of the taxes and levies that he imposed on them. Nonetheless, it also seems that he could not live without plundering and stealing, so he broke his truce with Salah ad-Deen in 582 AH/1186 CE when he intercepted a large merchant caravan that was passing through Kerak on its way from Egypt to Syria. He captured it, killed the guards and imprisoned some of the soldiers; furthermore, he seized the merchants and families who were travelling in the caravan and carried them off to the fortress of Kerak. News of this transgression soon reached Salah ad-Deen, and because he was keen that treaties and covenants should be respected, he sent word to Reynald de Chatillon rebuking him for this action and threatening him if he did not let the prisoners go and return the wealth. The ruler of Kerak refused to receive his envoys, however, and when Salah ad-Deen met with recklessness on the part of Reynald, he sent word to King Guy de Lusignan complaining and asking him to advise Reynald to return the prisoners and the wealth. Guy responded to Salah ad-Deen's request but he failed to put pressure on Reynald. These methods used by Salah ad-Deen with regard to the prisoners who had fallen

into the hands of Reynald, and his demand that he release them and return their wealth without using force, had a great impact in creating division and mistrust between the King of Jerusalem and Reynald. Reynald had not responded to the king's request to respect the truce with Salah ad-Deen, hence the Crusader king began to have doubts about Reynald's intentions and ambition to become the sole ruler in the area, and each began to suspect the other.

These alliances and the breaking thereof represented the first starting point for the Battle of Hattin. That is because Salah ad-Deen had formed an alliance with Raymond III, which allowed him to intervene in the Crusaders' internal politics. Renewing his alliance with both Raymond III and Bohemond III deprived the Kingdom of Jerusalem of the help of the two strongest Crusader principalities in Syria, namely the Principality of Tripoli and the Principality of Antioch. Thus Salah ad-Deen managed to drive a wedge into the Crusader ranks. At the same time he succeeded in uniting the Muslim ranks and prepared Muslim armies in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Mosul and Syria, both morally and militarily, for the battle which he wanted to be decisive.

When all the preparations were complete, Salah ad-Deen set out from Damascus in Muharram 583 AH/March 1187 CE, at the head of a large army, marching southwards. He reached Ra's al-Ma', which is northwest of Hawran,[20] then he headed towards Busra[21] in order to receive a pilgrim caravan in which his sister and her son were travelling and, at the same time, to guarantee that the caravan would not be intercepted by Reynald. The reports that had reached him indicated that the ruler of Kerak was lying in wait for the pilgrims. After he was reassured that the caravan had arrived safely, he started his attack on Kerak. When Reynald de Chatillon realized that Salah ad-Deen was in the area, he retreated to his fortress. Salah ad-Deen had left his son al-Afdal Noor ad-Deen 'Ali in Ra's al-Ma' to await the arrival of the troops whom he had summoned for jihad. Salah ad-Deen's movement towards Kerak achieved two aims:

i. Concealing his real goal, which was to attack the Kingdom of Jerusalem.
ii. Threatening Reynald de Chatillon and preventing him from going to the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

Salah ad-Deen let his troops loose in the region, destroying any force that came in their way. When he headed towards Crac de Montreal and did the same thing as he had done in Kerak. He stayed in Jordan for a month, from Safar to Rabee' I 583 AH/April to May 1187 CE, so as to conceal the gathering of troops around his son al-Afdal in Ra's al-Ma'.[24]

The battle of Sephoria

Whilst Salah ad-Deen was camping near the fortresses of Kerak and Crac de Montreal to protect the pilgrims from Crusader attacks, he sent out a hand-picked reconnaissance force, putting Muzaffar ad-Deen Kawkaboori of Harran, Badr ad-Deen Daldaram ibn Yarooq, commander of the Aleppo troops and Sarim ad-Deen Qaymaz an-Najami, commander of the Damascus troops, in charge, to carry out raids in enemy territory in order to weaken them and find out what they were up to. So this heavily-equipped expedition marched in the direction of Sephoria. These commanders were keen to keep their march secret and concealed, so they marched in the dead of night so that they could attack in the early morning. In fact this plan was executed very carefully: They arrived at Sephoria in the morning and what a bad morning it was for the Crusaders. The Crusaders were enjoying a peaceful sleep at that time, and awoke to the sounds of swords and spears. They hastened to gather their forces to confront that sudden Muslim attack and the two sides met in a tough battle which ended in a great victory for the Muslims. Most of the Crusaders were slain or taken captive. Among the slain were the leader of the Hospitallers and a large number of prominent knights; the leader of the Templars escaped with great difficulty. What made matters worse is that another Crusader force dared to rush to Sephoria to help their brothers when the battle had ended, so the Muslims took all of them captive. The

Muslims returned from this battle safe and victorious. Their victory in this battle was one of several blessings and a precursor to be followed by many other victories. Thus the Muslims inflicted huge losses on the Crusaders in lives and weapons; this battle instilled fear in the Crusaders' hearts and made them realize the danger of this frightening Islamic mobilization that Salah ad-Deen had prepared for the jihad against them.

Preparations that preceded the Battle of Hattin

Salah ad-Deen, who at that time was camping near to the fortress of Kerak, was cheered by this victory which was achieved by that reconnaissance force in the battle of Sephoria. He left Kerak and Crac de Montreal, and marched quickly with his army towards the enemy, camping at 'Ashtara. The Muslim troops gathered around him in huge numbers, filling the horizon, as Ibn Wasil said. In 'Ashtara he inspected his troops, of whom there were twelve thousand,[32] then he organized his army according to the usual system of battle. He put his nephew Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar on the right flank and Muzaffar ad-Deen Kawkaboori on the left, and he himself was in the heart. He divided the rest of the army on the two flanks, in readiness for battle.

Crusader preparations

In response to this great massing of Muslims, when the Crusaders heard of the Muslims' uniting against them and that this Muslim army was marching towards them, they realized that now something had come to them that they were not accustomed to, and that their entity was inevitably going to vanish. They gathered and reconciled, and they mobilized and massed their troops. He count (Raymond III) reconciled with King Guy, after entering upon him and throwing himself at his feet. Then King Guy gave the order for general mobilization, which meant that there was no alternative but for every man who was able to bear arms to come forward. The king only resorted to that because it was a case of extreme necessity. The Crusaders mobilized on a grand scale, and raised the True Cross so that the people would rally

around it. The preparations for complete mobilization were completed after the distribution of money sent by the King of England, Henry II to King Guy, which he ordered was to be spent on the troops. With regard to estimates of the number of Crusader troops who remained camped in Sephoria after the defeat by that Muslim force, contemporary historians say that there were around fifty thousand or more,[36] although some thought it most likely that the number was twenty thousand.

Salah ad-Deen' s plan for the decisive battle

When Salah ad-Deen learned that the Crusaders were gathering in Sephoria following their defeat by the Muslim force there, he consulted his commanders as to what he should do. Most of them suggested that he should not engage in a major battle and should follow the previous strategy of repeated raids and inflicting heavy losses until the enemy was weakened, then deliver the final blow to the Crusaders. Others suggested that he should penetrate deep into Crusader territory and engage with them in a decisive battle.

Here we see the military genius of Salah ad-Deen, as he chose the second plan, which called for engaging the enemy in a decisive battle, as it seems that Salah ad-Deen realized that most of the forces that had gathered with him at that time had come from far-away places in Egypt, Damascus, Aleppo, Mesopotamia, Mosul, Diyarbakir and elsewhere. These forces were based on the military feudal system — as we have seen above —and they had commitments in their chiefs, which might prompt them to ask, on occasion, for permission to go back to do necessary tasks there. This is in addition to the fact that Salah ad-Deen wanted, by following this plan, to take advantage of the division that had occurred in the Crusader ranks as a result of the death of King Baldwin V and the crowning of King Guy de Lusignan, which one researcher regards as the factor that deprived the Kingdom of Jerusalem of the help of the two strongest Crusader principalities in Syria, namely the Principality of Tripoli and the Principality of Antioch.

Thus the situation between Salah ad-Deen and the Crusaders grew tense, with each party longing to engage in a decisive battle. Salah ad-Deen was aware that by camping in Sephoria this gave them a great position for fighting, because Sephoria was regarded as one of the most suitable sites for setting up camp, due to the availability of grazing land, water and other essential natural resources. Hence he tried to draw the Crusaders out to a place where he could defeat them more easily. This is in addition to the fact that he wanted to force them to march to him so that they would reach him tired, and he could save his energy and that of his men. Hence Salah ad-Deen began preparing to do something to draw the Crusaders out of their camp at Sephoria and make them move to the place of his choosing. He began to send out a group of his men every day to swoop down on the Crusaders and inflict casualties, attempting thereby to make them march towards him, but these repeated raids did not have any impact on the Crusaders and they did not leave their camp in Sephoria. So Salah ad-Deen decided to attack Tiberias itself, because when the Crusaders saw this attack, they would hasten to reach him, and thus he would achieve what he wanted.

Salah ad-Deen heads towards Tiberias

Salah ad-Deen understood that by attacking Tiberias, he could provoke Raymond of Tripoli, who was known to be extremely jealous. In addition to that, Salah ad-Deen knew that by camping there, he could block the road leading to Tiberias, and at the same time control the route that passed through the eastern side to Tiberias and ended at the water of Lake Tiberias. At the same time the Crusaders, once they left Sephoria and marched towards him in rugged terrain, would have no access to water. On Thursday 23 Rabee' I 583 AH/2 July 1187 CE, Salah ad-Deen issued his commands to the main part of his army, telling them to advance towards Tiberias and attack, and the Crusaders fled to the citadel and fortified themselves there. Hardly had this news reached the Crusaders' ears when they went crazy, and

King Guy called for a council of war. Some suggested that they march towards the Muslims to fight them and prevent them from penetrating deep into Tiberias, whilst Raymond, ruler of Tripoli, advised the king to stay put in Sephoria, saying:

> Tiberias belongs to me and my wife. Salah ad-Deen has done what he did, but the citadel is still safe and my wife is there. I do not mind if he takes the citadel and my wife; what belongs to us there will come back to us. By God, I have seen the Muslim troops in the past and now, and I have never seen such a mass of troops in number and strength as are with Salah ad-Deen now. If he takes Tiberias, he cannot stay there unless all his troops are with him, and they will not be able to put up with staying away for so long from their homelands and families. They will be forced to leave it and we will be able to ransom our prisoners.

Here we can see that Salah ad-Deen's policy of creating divisions in the Crusader ranks bore fruit, as Raymond's opinion was strongly opposed to that of both Reynald of Kerak and Gerard, the leader of the Templers, who accused him of treachery and siding with the Muslims. Reynald responded to him by saying, "You have spoken too much and made us afraid of the Muslims. Or do you want them (to succeed) and are inclined towards them. Reynald and Gerard managed to influence King Guy, who ordered the troops to march towards Tiberias. The Crusader army began to march from Sephoria led by Raymond, in very tough circumstances, and their morale was very low. Many of them did not support the idea of marching towards Tiberias, so they marched unwillingly. In addition, the Crusader army encountered troubles and losses on the way because of the ambushes set up by Salah ad-Deen; the hot weather, the rugged terrain and the lack of water compounded their difficulties. As a result of these harsh conditions, during the march from Sephoria to Tiberias the Crusader army suffered serious separation. The rearguard could not keep up with the rest of the army or keep in contact with the king in the middle, which forced King Guy to set up his camp before reaching Tiberias, despite the attempt of

Raymond of Tripoli, who was in the vanguard, to urge the Crusaders to advance and reach the water. This led to Raymond criticizing that decision, and his realization that defeat was inevitable.

In fact, these instructions were careless, and are indicative of a lack of sound military thinking on the part of the Crusader commanders who were overwhelmed by strict religious emotions, because they made the king, the kingdom and the Crusader army fall into Salah ad-Den's trap. When he learned of their movements he commented:

> We have got what we wanted; what we sought has come to us. Praise be to Allah, we have strength and victory. If they are defeated, killed and captured, then there will be nothing to stop us from taking Tiberias and the entire coast, and there will be nothing to stop us conquering it.

Salah ad-Deen organized his troops that night, and he marched at the head of his army to meet the Crusaders at the top of Mount Tiberias which overlooks the plain of Hattin, which is an area like a hill that rises more than 300 meters above sea level; it has two peaks, which led the Arabs to call it the Horns of Hattin. When the Crusaders reached that hill, they were in a bad state of utter exhaustion and extreme thirst after Salah ad-Deen had prevented them from reaching the water. The two sides met on the plain of Mount Tiberias, to the west of the city, but night fell before they could engage in battle. On the morning of Friday 24 Rabee' II 583 AH/1187 CE, the two armies moved and clashed in an area called Lubiya, and the fighting lasted until darkness fell and separated them, and each side spent that night with their weapons by their sides. In fact, Salah ad-Deen's army spent those two nights with all the means that helped them to fight. They were camping in an area of flat and with ample grazing and water. As for the Crusader army, their wretchedness and exhaustion had undoubtedly increased during that night because they were camping in an area that was very rugged and waterless, and the weather was very hot. It seems that Salah ad-Deen took advantage of the pause in fighting during that night to complete his

preparations for attacking the enemy who had withdrawn to the slopes of Mount Hattin in order to protect themselves from destruction and have the chance to sleep in moderate conditions that might reduce the severity of the heat and thirst they were facing. Despite King Guy's commands to rush down the slope of the hill and fulfill their duties to the cross and honor, they refused because of their severe thirst and because they were unable to fight. Salah ad-Deen took advantage of that to organize his army and draw up plans; he surrounded the Crusaders, "like a circle surrounding its centre", as Ibn al-Atheer described it.

Events of the battle

On the morning of Saturday 24 Rabee' II 583 AH, the Crusaders discovered that they were surrounded far away from the water, so they rushed down to the Horns of Hattin, where a frightening battle took place. The Muslim army, which had completed its preparations for a decisive battle, advanced, and the Crusader army mobilized, with the thought of reaching Tiberias in hopes of finding water. But Salah ad-Deen, thanks to his military genius, realized what they were up to and positioned his troops in front of them. Salah ad-Deen began going around among the ranks, urging the men to engage in jihad, enjoining them to do what would benefit them and forbidding them to do what would harm them, and they showed obedience to him.

Beginning of the Muslim attack

The Muslim attack on the Crusaders began; the Muslims strove hard in fighting and intensified their attack on the enemy, well aware that behind them was the River Jordan and ahead of them was the Crusaders' land, and that no one could save them except Allah. In the face of this terrifying Muslim attack, the Crusaders

realized that their end was near, and that nothing could save them from Salah ad-Deen except fleeing or surrender. No one was saved except Raymond, Count of Tripoli, who saw that the Crusaders were unable to resist the Muslim army, so he agreed with a group of his companions to charge at the nearest Muslims; the Muslims parted and let them through, then the ranks closed up again. It seems that Raymond's departure was brought about with Salah ad-Deen's agreement; he issued orders to his nephew Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar, the commander of the detachment at which Raymond charged. By doing this, Salah ad-Deen aimed to instill weakness and despair in the Crusaders' hearts when they realized that Raymond and his group had departed. It is not unlikely that this was done as part of an agreement between Raymond and Salah ad-Deen, based on the fact that when they were subjected to this all-out attack by the Muslims, some of the Crusaders threw down their weapons and came to the Muslim camp to surrender. What made matters worse was that at the time when Raymond abandoned his fellow Christians, some Muslim volunteers had lit fires in the dry grass and bushes that covered the area, and the wind was blowing in the Crusaders' direction, So thirst, the summer heat, the heat of the fire, the smoke and the heat of battle all came against them at once, which forced the Crusaders to retreat to the top of the mountain. They wanted to set up their tents and protect themselves, but the fighting intensified against them on all sides, and prevented them from doing what they wanted, and they were unable to set up any tent except that of the king.

Psychological warfare on the part of Salah ad-Deen

It seems that in this decisive battle, Salah ad-Deen was determined to destroy the Crusaders and weaken their morale by all means. He did not focus only on direct fighting; he also used psychological warfare to affect the enemy. The evidence for that is that after he had cornered the Crusaders at the top of Mount Hattin, he focused his attention on capturing the True Cross' which they said contained a piece

of wood from the cross on which the Messiah (peace be upon him) had been crucified, according to their claims. He knew that capturing it would be the greatest weapon in destroying their morale. In fact, as soon as he captured it, the Crusaders were certain of defeat. The Muslims advanced to the top of the mountain with the Crusaders retreating before them, falling captive or being slain, until there was no one left with the Crusader king who had reached the top of the hill except a small group of no more than one hundred and fifty famous and brave knights. Ibn al-Atheer tells us of the incident:

> When the Crusaders retreated, led by their king, to the top of the hill, they charged at the Muslims who were nearest them, and nearly pushed them from their positions, but the Muslims repelled that attack and managed to push the Crusaders back again to the top of the hill, which made al-Malik al-Afdal express his joy at that victory by Saying "We have defeated them!" The Crusaders tried once more to repel the Muslims, who responded with a stronger attack and pushed them back to the top of the hill for the third time. Al-Malik al-Afdal again expressed his joy at this victory by Saying "We have defeated them!" Here we can see the military skill of Salah ad-Deen and his experience in the battlefield, as he realized that the defeat of the Crusaders would not be complete unless their leaders fell, either by being slain or taken captive. He answered his son, saying: "Be quiet! We will not defeat them until this tent falls," — meaning the tent of the king. Then he intensified his attack and it was only a few moments before the tent fell. Salah ad-Deen dismounted and prostrated in gratitude to Allah, weeping with joy.

Crusader losses at Hattin

In fact, what the Crusaders lost in this battle in terms of numbers slain or taken captive is regarded as one of the greatest calamities that befell them. No one escaped except a few fighters, in addition to those of the rearguard, led by Balian of

Ibelin and Reginald of Tyre, who escaped, and the troops of the vanguard led by Raymond of Tripoli. Most of the main army, led by King Guy de Lusignan, fell, either slain or captured by the Muslims. Foremost among the captives was King Guy himself, along with Reynald, ruler of Kerak; Hugh, bishop of Jabala; Hugh of Gibelet; Humphrey IV of Toron and son of Stephanie de Milly, the heiress of Oultrejourdain; and Gerard de Ridefort, Grandmaster of the Templars. Most of those who escaped were Hospitallers and other senior Crusaders.

Salah ad-Deen offers the prayer of gratitude and receives the captive kings

Salah ad-Deen ordered that a tent be pitched for him, and he entered it and offered a prayer to Allah in gratitude for this blessing, the like of which kings before him had wished for, but had died regretting that they had not achieved.[66] Then he summoned the Crusader kings and commanders, and received them well. He seated King Guy beside him and seated Prince Reynald, ruler of Kerak, beside the king. Salah ad-Deen hastened to offer a vessel of iced water to King Guy, who drank from it, and gave what was left to Reynald, who also drank, whereupon Salah ad-Deen got angry and addressed the king, affirming to him that Reynald had not drunk the water with his permission and thus had not gained his protection. When he turned to Reynald and reminded him of his crimes and acts of treachery. He said to him, "How often you broke promises and betrayed others. The interpreter told him that he said, "Kings have always acted thus; I did nothing more.' Salah ad-Deen stood up and said, "Here I am, standing up for Muhammad.[68] Then he gave him the option of accepting Islam, but he refused, so Salah ad-Deen unsheathed his sword and struck him, dislocating his shoulder, then those who were present finished him off. He said, "I vowed twice that I would kill him if I captured him. The first time was when he wanted to march to Makkah and Madinah, and the second time was when he captured the caravan by means of treachery. When the King of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan, saw that, he was afraid and thought that Salah ad-Deen was going to kill him next, but

the sultan addressed him and reassured him, telling him, "It is not the habit of kings to kill kings, but this man was killed because of his transgression and perfidy.[70]

Salah ad-Deen' s attitude towards the prisoners

Salah ad-Deen summoned the Templars and Hospitallers, and gave them the option of accepting Islam. Whoever became Muslim was spared, but those who refused were ordered to be executed. Abu Shamah explained the reason for their execution, noting that Salah ad-Deen said, "I am purifying the land of these two evil groups, and there is no precedent for ransoming them. Their enmity will never cease and they do not do any service in captivity. They are the worst of the disbelievers.[72]

It is well known that the knights of these two orders had rejected the (monastic) principles that they had devoted their lives to serve; they had taken off their black religious robes and put on white military garments and red symbols of the cross, and they had become fighters. Each one of them owned three horses and had a page who followed him. Some of them had become leaders with titles and military ranks, and excelled in planning acts of betrayal against the Muslims and breaking treaties and covenants. The primary and highest aim of the knights of these two orders was to undermine Islam and violate its sanctities by various means, no matter what the cost.[73]

The number of Hospitallers and Templars was around three hundred and sixty men. What is certain is that their former military role against the Muslims was the main reason for their execution, especially since they were known for not respecting treaties and covenants. Salah ad-Deen also realized that if he let them go, they would go back to killing Muslims even more viciously than before, and he could not ignore the fact that they had taken part in Reynald's criminal campaign against the Hijaz. For all these reasons, Salah ad-Deen did not hesitate to execute these Crusader prisoners. He has been subjected to attack by a number of modern historians who forget or ignore the massacres by the Crusaders in which they killed thousands upon

thousands of Muslims. This is nothing new in the western mentality, as we find them using a double standard, allowing for themselves what they forbid to others. We should understand that this action on Salah ad-Deen's part was an exception to his usual policy of general tolerance towards his enemies. As for the rest of the prisoners, Salah ad-Deen ordered that they be taken to Damascus where the princes were kept in a safe place, and the ordinary knights and Crusader troops were sold in the markets for low prices. Al-Qadi Ibn Abi ‘Asroon entered Damascus with the True Cross' being carried upside-down before him and the Sultan went back to Tiberias. As for Raymond III of Tripoli, when he escaped from the battle — as stated above — he reached Tyre, then he headed to Tripoli but it was only a few days before he died of distress and sorrow at what had befallen Christianity — in particular the Crusaders.

Reasons for victory at the Battle of Hattin

Preparations and understanding the law of cause and effect

Salah ad-Deen al-Ayyubi (may Allah have mercy on him) managed to unite the Ummah in adherence to the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of His Messenger (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him), in jihad for the sake of Allah and to liberate Muslim lands. Greater Syria, Egypt, the Hijaz, Yemen and Iraq came under his rule and leadership, and he mobilized the scholars, jurisprudents, armies and thousands of mujahideen for this mission, foremost among whom were the scholars and jurisprudents, who encouraged the warriors to fight. He formed a strong army and established an Egyptian fleet, spending huge amounts of wealth on it. Ibn Shaddad said:

> The sultan recognized Allah's blessing upon him when he became well established in authority: Allah caused him to prevail in the land, and the

people submitted to obeying him and committed to serving him. There was no way to show his gratitude except doing his utmost in jihad and striving hard to establish the principle of jihad. He summoned all the troops and brought them together, and they gathered together in 'Ashtara on the date mentioned, 24 Rabee II 583 AH. He organized them and set out with them heading towards the territory of the doomed enemy in the middle of the day on a Friday. He always sought to engage in battle on Fridays, especially at the times of prayer, seeking the blessing of the supplications of the sermon-givers on the pulpits, in the hope that they would be more likely to receive a response.

He was well prepared, having selected the archers and equipped them with plenty of arrows. The arrows that he distributed to the archers added up to four hundred camel loads. He prepared seventy she-camels in the battlefield, loaded with arrows, so that anyone who had used up all his arrows could take what he needed from them, thus guaranteeing that the fighting would continue and would not stop until victory came, by Allah's leave.

Salah ad-Deen fought the battle with an army that was strong and had unparalleled skills in warfare. In addition to choosing the time and place of the battle, when he camped outside Tiberias with his army and prevented the enemy from reaching the water, he also declared his jihad in July, which is regarded as the hottest month of the year, and the month when water levels in cisterns and rivers are at their lowest. Thus thirst became the strongest weapon at his disposal.

Salah ad-Deen put into practice the words of Allah:

And prepare against them whatever you are able of power and of steeds of war by which you may terrify the enemy of Allah and your enemy, and others besides whom, you do not know but whom Allah knows**.** ***(Qur'an 8: 60)***

He was able to gather the Muslim armies, tricked the Crusader armies into coming to where he wanted them and chose a suitable site for the battle.

Step-by-step approach and the unity of the Ummah

The Seljuk emirs did a great deal to defeat the Crusaders and 'Imad ad-Deen Zangi achieved a great deal by setting up his pioneering venture, which many at that time thought was impossible to achieve, despite its simplicity. It was his mission of unity and liberation, the first phase of which was achieved by his son Noor ad-Deen, and an important part of the second phase was achieved by Salah ad-Deen. Hence we see that Salah ad-Deen's victory at Hattin was the culmination of Imad ad-Deen's unity and liberation venture. Were it not for Noor ad-Deen's following in his father's footsteps in uniting Greater Syria and then uniting Egypt with Syria, this victory could not have been achieved. It was achieved by the grace of Allah and the efforts to unite the Ummah, which were based on sound Islamic belief that calls for Islamic unity without discriminating between races, colors or nationalities. Rather they were united by brotherhood in Islam, which does not differentiate between Turks, Kurds, Arabs, Persians or any other nation that comes under the banner of Islam. A poet said:

I do not know of any homeland except Islam,
Where Syria and the Nile valley are the same.
Wherever the name of Allah is mentioned in any country,
I would count that as the heart of my country.[83]

The factors which aided the cause of unity interacted in Salah ad-Deen's era with the passage of time; the gradual approach bore fruit at the Battle of Hattin and culminated in the Conquest of Jerusalem. The believers, in their mutual friendship, compassion and love became like the body; if one part of it hurts, the rest of the body joins in it staying awake and suffering fever.[84]

Despite the great efforts made by the colonialists to divide the Muslim world, they succeeded in dividing the Muslim lands, but they did not succeed in

dividing Muslim hearts. Muslims still love their Muslim brothers and their situation is as the poetSays:[85]

If a Muslim complains in China,
a Muslim in India will feel pain and weep.
Egypt is my sweet basil, Syria is my narcissus,
And Arabia is my history and homeland.
In Iraq I see my glorious past
which makes me look down on every treacherous aggressor.
Al-Masjid al-Aqsa and its dome reside in my heart;
No doubt I care for it and it cares for me.
I think of Bukhara as my homeland
Although it is so far away,
And I am cheered when Khorasan is mentioned.
The Sharia of Allah has brought us together
And raised our status through sincerity and faith.[86]

Far-sightedness and political acumen of Salah ad-Deen

It may be noted that Salah ad-Deen realized the importance of working on two issues at the same time: uniting the Islamic front and engaging in jihad against the Crusaders, because of the strong connection between the two. It is worth mentioning here that the year 1186 CE/582 AH saw the agreement with ‘Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood, ruler of Mosul, to come under his authority. Hence he managed to bring under his control the four main Muslim cities which played a major role in the land war, namely Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo and Mosul, each of which would feature prominently in the jihad venture.[87]

From another angle, it is significant that the Crusaders, led by Raymond III, Count of Tripoli, made a truce with Salah ad-Deen, in 1185 CE/581 AH, which was

to last for four years. It may be noted that both sides needed this truce, in order to organize their forces and catch their breath. What is indicative of Salah ad-Deen's far sightedness and political acumen is that he made this truce with some of the Crusader forces in order to protect his forces and not scatter their energies in large ongoing operations, especially against the Crusaders. Hence we find him, during those years, avoiding entering into any decisive battle. He did not rush things; rather he let the factors of division play their role in the Crusader ranks. One of the most critical political decisions that he made was when he decided upon a temporary peace with the Crusaders. It is important to understand that these treaties, when they were violated, gave him the justification to launch an all-out war of liberation, one of the fruits of which was the Battle of Hattin. The spark of confrontation between Salah ad-Deen al-Ayubi and the Crusaders came from the Crusader knight Reynald de Chatillon (Arnat, in Arabic), the knight whose stupidity earned him infamy. Reynald violated the truce, which Salah ad-Deen regarded as a declaration of war on the part of the Crusaders. The Ayubid response was swift and decisive, as we see in the Battle of Hattin 583 AH/1187 CE. Salah ad-Deen's farsightedness and political acumen are highlighted by the fact that before embarking upon the Battle of Hattin he did the following three things:

Organizing his state and the Fiefs of his emirs

Salah ad-Deen was brilliant in achieving balanced deals that pleased everyone. He delegated others to handle administrative affairs and focused completely on military matters. He chose the right people for each task, and stipulated that the deputies and governors should treat all subjects equally in the administration of provinces and fiefs, contribute to the costs of the jihad and keep their troops in a constant state of readiness for battle. He paid attention to the sincere loyalty of his followers and said to Al Qadi Ibn Shaddad on one occasion, "If I were to die, these troops would not stay together.[89]

He once wrote a letter at Raqqah in which he said:

> The most wretched of emirs is the one who fills his pockets and makes people emaciated. The furthest of them from truth is the one who takes from people unlawfully and calls it lawful. If a person gives up something for the sake of Allah, Allah will compensate him, and if he lends to Allah a goodly loan, Allah will pay back what he loaned.

He organized the state and the fiefs of his emirs after the unity movement, which took more than a decade.

Reining in his family's ambitions and placating them

The Ayubid family was both his support and his distraction at the same time. The ambitions of its members were in accordance with the prevalent notions of the era, but they were not in agreement with the ambitions of Salah ad-Deen and his understanding of the concept of the state. They were new to governing, which they understood as the possession of people's lands and of the people themselves, not as the administration of their affairs and taking care of the subjects for whom they were responsible. Salah ad-Deen's understanding of the concept of governance came to him from his having studied under Noor ad-Deen Mahmood ash-Shaheed, 'the martyr', whereas his family's comprehension of the concept was based on the prevalent reality of the age. Salah ad-Deen suffered from the contrast between the two, and expressed this difference the day he said to his brother al-'Adil, when he was seeking to take control of Aleppo in return for 150,000 dinars that Salah ad-Deen had borrowed from him, "So you think that countries can be bought and sold? Don't you know that the country belongs to its people who live in it, and we are treasurers for the Muslims, protectors of the faith and guardians of their wealth?"[91]

After many changes and concessions, the matter ended in 582 AH as follows:

- His brother al-Malik al-'Adil was reinstated in Egypt, not in possession of any citadel or fief, but as the regent of al-'Azeez 'Uthman ibn Salah ad-Deen.
- He appointed his nephew Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar in charge of the fiefs of Mayafariqin and Diyarbakir, after he rebelled in Egypt, or nearly rebelled, and left Egypt, with Al Qadi al-Fadil persuading him not to be reckless.
- Salah ad-Deen reinstated his son, adh-Dhahir Ghazi, as governor of Aleppo.
- He left Shirkuh ibn Nasir ad-Deen Muhammad in charge of his fief in Horns and did not change anything.[92]

External diplomatic efforts

From his experience and responsibilities for over twenty years, Salah ad-Deen realized that the framework within which events take place has an effect on them, and that the strong foundation on which he had built his state piece by piece was not sufficient to guarantee that things would take the course he wished; it was essential to form friendships, truces and peaceful relationships with external forces and even with enemy forces on occasion. In 577 AH he established good relations with Constantinople; a congregational mosque was opened there and approximately two hundred Muslim prisoners being held there were released. As a result of the success of this relationship, enmity between Byzantium and the Franks of Syria increased, which further reassured Salah ad-Deen with regard to Byzantium and Cyprus.

On the other hand, the Italian fleets — the fleets of Genoa, Pisa, Venice and Amalfi — were continuously coming to the Syrian coast and were given special treatment in all ports; they were bringing men, weapons and wealth to them non-stop, and returning to the west with eastern goods and spices. Their effective role is what supported the Frankish principalities in the east for nearly a century. Were it not for these ships, these principalities would not have survived or grown strong. Salah ad-

Deen had to rein in their strength as much as he could; he could not fight them on the sea because he did not have sufficient naval resources for that. Instead he opened some of his ports to them, knowing that these merchants cared more about business than religion, and that made them forget about the excommunication that the Pope could impose on them. They were also competing amongst themselves, so he took advantage of that competition and made great efforts to attract the merchants to the ports of Egypt, which served not only their interests but also the interests of his state and increased its income, as well as serving the interests of Egyptian merchants. He signed a deal with the Venetian merchants in 569 AH, and there is a statement in a letter sent by Salah ad-Deen to the caliph in Baghdad which confirms that there was a similar deal with Genoa:

> There is no one among them who does not bring his weapons to our country (to sell to us) and draws close to us by giving us gifts of the finest goods he has to offer; we have good relations and peaceful relations with all of them.

The issue of jihad

This is the central issue with which Salah ad-Deen was concerned, even when he was hunting or when he was alone with his children. The last few months of the year 582 AH[95] were months in which there was an exchange of letters with his deputies, workers and those under his authority in Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia, discussing preparations for war. Naturally, he was not unaware of the conflicts going on in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and he understood the significance of the truce that had been made with Raymond of Tripoli, who was angry with the king of Jerusalem. Whatever the case, Salah ad-Deen held all the cards at the beginning of 583 AH, and Allah gave him the opportunity when Reynald broke the treaty, so he dealt with him in order to implement these means and put his trust in Allah.

"Do not fight for my sake, but for the sake of Allah"

When, during the Battle of Hattin, Salah ad-Deen heard that the Crusader army was marching towards him, he said, "What we want has come to us."

He gathered his companions and they advised him to launch raids, but he refused, Saying, "What I think is that all the Muslims should meet all the disbelievers, because humans cannot control how events will unfold; we do not know what is left of our lives, and it is not right to let this gathering disperse except after much striving and fighting."

He said to the troops, "Do not fight for my sake; fight for the sake of Allah".[96]

This was a practical application on Salah ad-Deen's part of the verse in which Allah Says:

Those who believe fight in the Cause of Allah, and those who disbelieve, fight in the cause of *Taghoot* [Satan]. ***(Qur'an 4: 76)***

When Salah ad-Deen fought his wars with the Crusaders he was fighting for the sake of Allah. He was very keen that the fighting should be for the sake of Allah, that the banner of Islam should be raised high, and that the banner of polytheism and the polytheists, the Crusaders who venerated the cross and regarded it as holy, should be brought low. Salah ad-Deen was sincere in his jihad and in seeking martyrdom. He would remind his troops and commanders of the necessity of being sincere towards Allah and of seeking His Countenance when fighting their enemies, so that Allah would bestow upon them the reward of the mujahideen and cause them to attain the status of blessed martyrs in the Ummah of the greatest of the Messengers.

Allah caused him to prevail in his battles and conquests because of his great sincerity. How could it be otherwise, when every time he conquered a land he did not

attribute the victory to himself, but to Allah, the Giver of victory, the Supporter of the believers who affirm His Oneness, the Defeater of the disbelievers who ascribe partners to Him? As soon as the Muslims achieved any victory under his leadership, Salah ad-Deen would fall down in prostration to Allah, the Exalted, thanking Him for His support. This is what he did at Hattin and other battles.[98]

Application of Islamic law and its blessings in Salah ad-Deen's state

History tells us that when Salah ad-Deen (may Allah have mercy on him) came to power, he repented sincerely to Allah and forsook everything that could lead to sin and forbidden means of entertainment, and he regretted what he had done in adolescence. He turned to Allah and repented sincerely, and occupied himself with acts of obedience, doing many acts of worship. He taught his troops and others and trained them to have a good relationship with Allah, to adhere to His limits, and he stopped disobeying Him and began to obey Him. He paid attention to Islamic law and the scholars, and applied Sharia rulings to the people's affairs, ruling them with justice and equity, curbing people who practiced misguidance and corruption, enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil. He was humble towards people, not showing favoritism to those who loved him or mistreating those who hated him; he was lenient with those who opposed him on false grounds, and treated them in a generous and kind manner. He enjoined his family and commanders to strengthen their relationships with Allah and His Book by reading it, memorizing it, pondering it and acting upon it. He advised his sons to fear and obey Allah, and reminded them of death and what comes after it. Look at this advice he gave to one of his seventeen sons, al-Malik adh-Dhahir:

> I urge you to fear Allah for it is the basis of all good; I enjoin you to do what Allah has enjoined upon you, for it is the cause of your salvation; I

warn you against shedding blood and indulging therein, for blood does not sleep; I advise you to take care of the people and pay attention to the state and its prominent figures, for I have not reached the level I have reached except by being kind to people. Do not bear grudges against anyone, for death does not spare anyone. Watch your interactions with people, for (transgression) will not be forgiven except with their consent, whereas what is between you and Allah will be forgiven if you repent to Him, for He is Most Generous.[99]

Ruling in accordance with that which Allah has revealed has effects in this world and in the Hereafter. Its worldly effects, as seen in the state of Salah ad-Deen, are:

Being granted power and authority

We see that Noor ad-Deen, and Salah ad-Deen after him, strove to establish the laws of Allah on themselves and were sincere to Allah in adhering to His rulings in private and in public. So Allah, may He be blessed and exalted, strengthened them and supported them until He gave them power and authority in the land. Salah ad-Deen established the laws of Allah in His state, so Allah established authority for him. This is a constant, unchanging divine law which applies to all peoples and nations who strive hard to establish the laws of Allah. Allah addressed the believers of this Ummah, promising them that which He promised the believers before them. He Says in Soorat an-Noor:

"Allah has promised those who have believed among you and done righteous deeds, that He will surely grant them succession [to authority] upon the earth" in other words, instead of the disbelievers, "just as He granted it to those before them…" ***(Qur'an 24: 55)***

If people attain true faith and refer for judgement to the laws of the Most Merciful, that will bear fruit and have a lasting effect.

“...and He will surely establish for them the authority to practice their religion which He has preferred for them” ***(Qur’an 24: 55)***

Thus achieving the rule of Islamic law will result in power and authority in the land, and implementing the Sharia leads to supporting the religion of Islam. This is what we see in the state of Noor ad-Deen and Salah ad-Deen.

Security and stability

After Allah honored Salah ad-Deen with the removal of the Fatimid state, the conquest of Egypt and the incorporation of Aleppo and Damascus, and the agreement with Mosul to form a broad Islamic front, his state saw security and stability in those regions which were ruled by the law of Allah. We see that after Salah ad-Deen's state was established and Allah gave it power and authority, He (Allah) granted it the means of security and stability, so that it could maintain its position. This is an unchanging law: Allah guarantees those who believe and act in accordance with His laws and rulings that He will grant them the security they seek in their hearts and their lives, because He is in control of all things, He decrees what He wills, and He is the controller of the hearts. Allah grants absolute security to those who adhere to tawheed and purify themselves from polytheism of all types. Allah Says:

They who believe and do not mix their belief with injustice— those will have security and they are the [rightly] guided.) ***(Qur'an 6: 82)***

Their hearts are free from fear, torment and wretchedness if they are completely devoted to Allah and free from polytheism, both major and minor. Implementing the laws of Allah brings comfort to the heart because it is based on the justice, mercy and wisdom of Allah. After promising the believers that He will grant

them authority and power, He does not deprive them of the sense of security and tranquility. He says:

“Allah has promised those who have believed among you and do righteous deeds, that He will surely grant them succession [to authority] upon the earth, just as He granted it to those before them, and that He will surely establish for them the authority to practice their religion which He has preferred for them [Islam]. And He will certainly replace their fear with security, [for] they worship Me, not associating anything with Me. ***(Qur'an 24: 55)***

Achieving full submission to Allah and casting aside polytheism of all kinds brings security in the heart at the individual and community. This is what happened to Salah ad-Deen and his state and to the Muslims during his era, because they followed the path of the Lord of the Worlds.

Honour and glory

The great honour and glory of Salah ad-Deen and the Ayubids that is recorded in the pages of history is due to their adherence to the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of His Messenger. The one who bases his pride on being a follower of the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of His Messenger (SAW), the Ummah will be honored by him and will prevail by his leadership. He has set his foot on the right path and has followed the decree of Allah that dictates honor for the one who adheres to His Book and the Sunnah of His Messenger Allah says:

“We have certainly sent down for you a Book [the Qur'an] in which is your mention. Then will you not reason?” ***(Qur'an 21: 10)***

Ibn 'Abbas (R.A) said, commenting on this verse, "In it is your honour.”[100]

This Ummah cannot derive honour and glory except through adherence to the rulings of Islam, as 'Umar ibn al-Khattab (RA) said,

"We were the lowest of people, then Allah honored us with Islam, so the more we seek honor with something other than that with which Allah honored us, the more Allah will humiliate us.[101]

In these words, 'Umar (R.A) explained to us the real connection between the situation of the Ummah when it is honored or humiliated and its attitude towards the Sharia and whether it adheres to it or turns away from it. It was never honored by anything other than Islam, and it is never humiliated except by turning away from Islam. Allah says:

Whosoever desires honor [through power] then to Allah belong all honor.

(Qur'an 35: 10)

If anyone seeks glory, let them seek it by obeying Allah.[102]

Allah says:

"And to Allah belongs all honor, power and glory, and to His Messenger [Muhammad], and to the believers, but the hypocrites do not know."

(Qur'an 63: 8)

Salah ad-Deen and the Muslims were victorious at Hattin by the grace of Allah whose laws they had applied.

Victory and conquest

Salah ad-Deen and the Muslims were keen to support the religion of Allah with all they possessed, and the law of Allah, that He supports those who support Him, was fulfilled in them, because Allah has guaranteed that He will support those who adhere to His laws against their enemies with His might and power. Allah says:

“And Allah will surely support those who support Him [His Cause]. Indeed, Allah is Powerful and Exalted in Might. And they are] those who, if We give them authority in the land, establish prayer and give the Zakah and they command what is right, and forbid what is wrong. And to Allah belongs the outcome of [all] matters.” ***(Qur'an 22: 40-41)***

Justice

Justice is the foundation of sound authority, hence Allah commanded His Messenger to establish it. Allah says:

“I have been commanded to do justice among you.” **(Qur'an 42: 15)**

“O you who have believed! Be persistent standing firm for justice, as witnesses for Allah.” ***(Qur'an 4: 135)***

“Be persistently standing firm for Allah, witnesses in justice.” ***(Qur'an 5: 8)***

“And that when you judge between people, you judge with justice.” ***(Qur'an 4: 58)***

Treating one's subjects justly, giving people their dues and restoring the rights of those who have been wronged brings glory and dignity to the Ummah and creates a fighting generation and an Ummah whose will is liberated by curbing injustice. The people love their rulers and obey them because they have submitted to the rule of justice themselves and established justice for others. As for injustice, it is darkness in this world and in the Hereafter and it leads to the decline of nations. Hence Allah has forbidden it for Himself and deemed it to be haram among His creation. He Says in the ***hadith qudsi***[103]: "O My slaves, I have forbidden injustice for Myself and made it forbidden among you, so do not wrong one another.[04]

In the Qur'an Allah says:

“The angels will be ordered]: Gather those who committed wrong, their kinds, and what they used to worship.” ***(Qur'an 37: 22)***

“Those are their houses desolate because of the wrong they had done.”

(Qur'an 27: 52)

We should note that in the Noorid state at the time of Noor ad-Deen Zangi and the Ayubid state at the time of Salah ad-Deen al-Ayubi, justice prevailed among the people, who were given their rights in full. Thus they became active in jihad and in defending their state.[105] Al-Qadi ibn Shaddad said concerning Salah ad-Deen:

> Every Monday and Thursday he sat in public to administer justice, and on these occasions jurisprudents, qadis and scholars of Islam were present. Everyone who had a grievance was admitted — great and small, aged women and feeble men. He sat thus, not only when he was in the city, but even when he was travelling, and he always received with his own hand the petitions that were presented to him and did his utmost to put an end to every form of oppression that was reported. Every day he made a packet of these documents, and opened the doors of justice (to the plaintiffs); he never sent away those who came to complain of their wrongs or to demand redress. Every day, either during the daytime or at night, he spent an hour with his scribe, and wrote on each petition, in the terms which Allah guided him to, the answer to its request. Whenever a petitioner applied to him, he would stop to listen, to receive his complaint, and to enquire into the rights of the matter.[106]

Salah ad-Deen established justice in his state and left for us examples of the practical application of justice with his emirs and the people, which protected the rights of individuals as well as those of the state. The applications were based on justice and fairness. This supports the principle which states that justice is the basis of

authority and injustice leads to the decline of the state,[107] just as the justice that Salah ad-Deen established in his state was one of the causes of his victory at Hattin.

A generation that fought for the sake of Allah

Salah ad-Deen's generation did not come from nowhere; it was preceded by academic and educational efforts based on the principles of Ahl as-Sunnah wal-Jama'ah. That generation, which Allah honored with the victory at Hattin, had many of the qualities of the victorious group, among the most important of which are:

It followed the truth

The victorious group adheres to and follows the truth in ways that all other Muslims do not. Among the prominent aspects of the truth to which it adheres until it becomes victorious are the following:

- ❖ Adherence to correct belief and to the way of the Prophet (SAW) and his Companions, and avoidance of innovation and its proponents. They are the followers of the Sunnah. Salah ad-Deen and the Muslims who were with him were the ones who put an end to the Ismaili Shiite Fatimid state.
- ❖ Adherence to guidance and outward behavior, such as in public, that is in accordance with the Prophet (SAW) way that has come down to us through the Companions of the Prophet (SAW) (may Allah be pleased with them), and being free of the causes of evildoing, suspicion and haram desires.
- ❖ Persistence in jihad with one's life and possessions, enjoining what is good, forbidding what is evil, and establishing justice among all people.
- ❖ Persistence in striving to attain all means, whether material or moral, required for victory, and seeking to acquire all qualities by means of which the believers may receive the help of Allah. There is no doubt that they can only prevail when they adhere to true jihad on one hand and strive their utmost in preparing the means that lead to victory on the other. This is what

Salah ad-Deen and the other leaders with him did; striving to attain those means is in fact part of adhering to Islamic law, as the Sharia enjoins using all possible material means, such as manufacturing, weaponry, planning, management, and so on. No one should imagine that victory comes without that, because making good use of what Allah has provided is one of the requirements of adhering to Allah's commands.[108]

It established the commands of Allah

This characteristic appears prominently in the Prophet (SAW) description of this group. They are a group that establishes the command of Allah and their name in Arabic is *at-ta'ifah al-mansoorah*, 'the victorious group'. Salah ad-Deen was distinguished by his work to carry the banner of da'wah, for he called people to Allah and to His religion and laws. He upheld the Sunnah of Allah's Prophet (SAW) striving to spread the Sunnah among people by all possible and legitimate means. He devoted the state's resources to that, rebutting specious arguments against Ahl as-Sunnah and refuting those who went against the Sunnah. Salah ad-Deen's state also enjoined what is good and forbade what is evil. Members of the government did this by taking action and speaking out, or at least by denouncing evil in their hearts, and opposing all deviation that occurred among the Muslims, whatever type it was: political, social, economic, academic or ideological.

It established the duty of jihad for the sake of Allah

The victorious group is described in the Prophet (SAW) hadiths as "fighting for the truth"[109] or "fighting to establish the command of Allah."[110] Salah ad-Deen and his army established lawful jihad for the sake of Allah and fought the enemies of Allah among the disbelievers and others.

It was patient and steadfast

The main characteristic that Allah has bestowed on the victorious group is that it is patient. You have seen and will see how Salah ad-Deen and his troops were armed with beautiful patience in their jihad, and the forces of injustice were unable to divert them from their path or the goal for which they were striving. The Messenger described these as "not being harmed by those who reject them or by those who oppose them, and they will not worry about those who oppose them."[111]

These words of the Prophet (SAW) refer to these strivers who know their aims and goals and follow their path. They do not look at the opposition of those who oppose them, the obstacles placed by those who seek to undermine them, or the rejection of enemies and haters. They face all these troubles with patience, steadfastness and certain faith.[112] These attributes which are mentioned in the hadiths describing the victorious group applied to the generation of Salah ad-Deen al-Ayubi.

Salah ad-Deen gave beneficial advice to his troops. One day he said:

> Realize that you are the troops and defenders of Islam today. You should know that the blood, wealth and children of the Muslims are your responsibility and Allah, the Glorified and Exalted, will question you about them on the Day of Resurrection. This enemy has no one among the Muslims who will confront him and protect the Land and the people except you. If you turn away — Allah forbid — then the enemy will take the Land and destroy the people; he will take property and children and women; he will worship the cross in the mosques and the Qur'an and prayer will disappear from them. All of that will be your responsibility. You are the ones who took on all of that; you consumed the Muslims' wealth in order to ward off their enemy from them and support their weak ones. The fate of the Muslims in all lands is dependent on you and their safety depends on you.[113]

Seeking help from the scholars and consulting them about war and administrative matters

Salah ad-Deen stayed close to the scholars, sat with them and consulted them concerning war and administrative matters. He listened to their advice and appreciated it, and relied on some of them with regard to matters of the state. The scholar who spent the most time with him, at times of ease and of hardship, at home and when travelling, was Al Qadi al-Fadil. Think about Salah ad-Deen's words and his analysis of the most important cause of victory after the help of Allah, when he said, "No land was conquered by means of the troops; rather it was conquered by means of the words of al-Fadil.[114]

Al-Qadi al-Fadil offered him sound advice and wise counsel; he was sincere in giving him advice at times of war, in planning and on various issues. Ibn Katheer said, "Al-Qadi al-Fadil was in Egypt, running the affairs of state and preparing for the sultan whatever he needed of wealth; he built up the fleet and wrote letters for the sultan.[115] Salah ad-Deen gained full support from the scholars and jurisprudents; he would consult them and seek their advice. After his great victory at Hattin, Salah ad-Deen decided to complete the jihad against the Crusaders and take the cities of greater Syria back from them. A number of scholars took part in these conquests, as we shall see below.[116] Salah ad-Deen sought the help of the scholars and jurisprudents in preparing the Ummah for jihad, by explaining to them the aims of jihad in Islam and the necessity of adhering to them and striving for them. Thee scholars played an essential role in raising the morale of the troops at Hattin and elsewhere.

A strong relationship with Allah

Salah ad-Deen was a man who worshipped and supplicated a great deal, and had great hope in the support and help of Allah. He would enjoin the people to do good and forbid them to do evil, and urge them to obey and worship Allah. He led the way in that regard and gave them the opportunity to purify their souls and occupy

themselves with reading the Qur'an, pondering its meanings and memorizing it. He was keen to pray night prayers and recite a great deal of remembrance and glorification of Allah, and he urged his commanders and troops to do likewise. He would sit with the scholars and read the Qur'an to them, and listen to their commentary. He would sit with the scholars of Hadith to learn from them the understanding of the Hadith. He would listen to the jurisprudents and scholars, and he would bring scholars, jurisprudents and Qur'an commentators to teach the army the Book of their Lord, educate them about their religion and strengthen their relationship with their Lord. He would command his troops in their tents to pray the night prayer and to remember Allah a great deal. He would check on his soldiers' tents and if he found a tent whose occupants were being heedless about praying night prayers or reading the Qur'an, he would wake them up and remind them of the necessity of remembering, worshipping and obeying Allah a great deal. These things are among the most important factors of victory against the enemy.'

Turning to Allah after making preparations

Another of the causes of his victory was that after availing himself of the means, he would turn to Allah the Almighty, asking Him for help and support. He would turn to Allah and supplicate a great deal at times of calamity, and he was sincere in his supplications and beseeching of Allah. Al-Qadi al-Fadil, who accompanied him on his journeys and in his jihad, said of his supplication and his attitude in supplication:

> He would give in charity and conceal it before conversing with his Lord in his prostrations, and he would Say, "My God, I did not leave any earthly means of supporting Your religion but I used it, and there is nothing left but turning to You, clinging to Your rope, relying on Your bounty. You are sufficient for me and the best disposer of affairs.

> I saw him prostrating with tears rolling down onto his grey beard and then onto his mat, but I could not hear what he was saying.[118]

Allah soon answered his supplication and troubles befell the Crusaders, who were turned back in defeat caused by the Lord of lords. Yes, it was true dependence and trust in Allah, supplication from the depths of his heart to his Lord, Who Says:

And whosoever fears Allah and keeps his duty to Him, He will make a way for him to get out [from every difficulty]. And He will provide for him from where he does not expect it. ***(Qur'an 65: 2-3)***

And whosoever relies upon Allah, then He is sufficient for him. Indeed, Allah will accomplish his purpose. Allah has already set for everything a [decreed] extent. (Qur'an 65: 3)

And when My servants ask you concerning Me, indeed, I am near. I respond to the invocations of the supplicant when he calls upon Me. So let them respond to Me and believe in Me, so that they may be rightly guided. (Qur'an 2: 186)

And your Lord Says: Call upon Me, I will respond to your [invocation].

(Qur'an 40: 60)

Success of Salah ad-Deen's intelligence operations

Salah ad-Deen managed to penetrate Crusader lines with his intelligence operations just before the Battle of Hattin, he managed to win over the wife of Bohemond III, Prince of Antioch, the lady Sybilla, who was secretly in contact with Salah ad-Deen and kept him informed of the plans and movements of the Crusaders as they happened, at dawn on the day of Hattin. The historian Ibn al-Atheer confirms this, and says that the Princess of Antioch corresponded with Salah ad-Deen,

exchanged gifts with him and informed him of a great deal of the information to which she was privy.[119] Abu Shamah Says:

> Madame Sybilla, the wife of the Prince of Antioch, was known to be on the sultan's side and was a spy for him against the enemy. She sent him gifts and advised him, and spied on their secrets, and the sultan honored her for that and gave her the most precious of gifts.[120]

One of the causes of his victory at Hattin was that he paid proper attention to intelligence gathering, thus protecting against surprise acts of aggression on the Crusaders' part. Sun Tzu[121] said, pointing out the importance of this:

> If you know the enemy and you know yourself, then there is nothing to make you fear the consequences of a hundred battles. If you know yourself and do not know the enemy, then you will face defeat in every battle.[122]

Salah ad-Deen's brilliance was reflected in his creation of a strong intelligence network within the Crusader ranks, which ensured that news of their movements reached him quickly on an ongoing basis.

Reasons for victory that were the fault of the Crusaders

The Crusaders were divided among themselves in this battle. When the Count of Tripoli thought that they should not fight in the place chosen by Salah ad-Deen, Reynald de Chatillon, the ruler of Kerak, stood up to him and accused him of being a coward and collaborating with the Muslims, and of spreading propaganda in their favor. He also accused him of being soft towards the Muslims because his wife was under siege by Salah ad-Deen and the Muslims in the citadel of Tiberias. Hence we see that when the opportunity to flee presented itself, Raymond III and his entourage fled from the battlefield and left the other Crusaders at the most crucial point in the fighting; he also left his wife in this difficult situation.

They stupidly and knowingly fell into the trap that Salah ad-Deen set for them, even though the Count of Tripoli had alerted them to it.

Their morale had collapsed due to the war of attrition, and at the beginning of this and subsequent battles in which they found themselves facing the Muslims, who remained strong, they were unable to ward off defeat and harm.

Evil doing and immorality was rife with these Crusaders, and debauchery was widespread among them. A large number of them had come to plunder, pillage and shed blood unjustly; they had no morals and could never attain victory over the believers in Allah who were striving in jihad. Concerning this, Gustav Le Bon said in his book *The Civilization of the Arabs:*

> It may be noted that these invaders had no morals or values; they were immoral evildoers, promiscuous and corrupt. They were the enemies and killers of civilization, as we do not see anyone among them in the Promised land except heretics, disbelievers, thieves, adulterers, murderers, traitors, jokers, debauched monks and promiscuous nuns.[124]

Abul-Hasan an-Nadawi on the secret behind Salah ad-Deen's success

Shaykh an-Nadawi delivered a speech to the Muslim World League in which he said:

> The only solution to the issue of Palestine is for a new Salah ad-Deen to emerge on the stage of Palestine and on the stage of jihad once again.
>
> What was the secret behind the astounding victory of Salah ad-Deen that dazzled the world and changed the course of history? The secret is that he was a believing Muslim, a follower of Muhammad (SAW). He knew nothing but the language of the Qur'an, the language of faith, the language of Paradise. The Muslims were and still are like that. The Muslims up until today, even

though foolish materialistic thinking and modern education have affected them, still do not understand anything except the language of the Qur'an. The Muslims in the east and in the west, no matter how many languages they speak, no matter how smart they are, no matter how brilliant and clever they are, until today they still do not understand anything but the language of Muhammad (SAW) , in whom they believe as an eternal Prophet (SAW) as one who raised the banner of holy jihad. They do not understand anything but the language of the Qur'an. Talk to the Muslims in the language of the Qur'an, my brothers, not in the language of politics. Stir up in them compassion and faith with the words of jihad, with the words of longing for martyrdom, for they still understand this language well.

The secret behind Salah ad-Deen's winning control over people's hearts and souls was that he understood this secret: the Muslims are not motivated by anything except jihad. They gathered under this banner of faith different types of leadership and different types of people, and he managed to unite the divided and scattered Muslim world which was divided against itself. How did he manage to unite this vast world with its multiple elements, multiple cultures, and multiple madh-habs? How did he manage to unite the Muslim world during this dark and critical period beneath the banner of Muhammad (SAW)? He did not raise the banner of Arab nationalism. Let me Say: I am Indian by origin, I am Indian by culture, I am a man who was born and raised in India, but I believe in Muhammad (S.A.W) and I believe in the Qur'an. There are millions of souls who look up to you (Arabs), feel a deep emotional attachment to you, and would sacrifice their lives, wellbeing and security for your sake. A big massacre took place recently in India, in Ahmadabad, and what was the reason?

It was because of a large Muslim gathering that was held to support the issue of Palestine. This massacre and huge sectarian turmoil took place because the

> Muslims in Ahmadabad came together from distant lands and crossed the sea; they do not understand Arabic but they organized this historical gathering to defend the issue of Palestine. This is clear proof that there are sincere souls, the extent of whose sincerity is known to no one except Allah; sincere, believing souls, who do not know the language of politics or the language of diplomacy, but they know the language of faith, they know the language of compassion, they know the language of the Qur'an. You possess resources that neither America nor Russia possesses; that is the resource of faith, the resource of strong faith. This resource exists, but it needs to be stirred up, it needs to be harnessed in the sincerest manner.[125]

Reactions to the Battle of Hattin

Al-Qadi al-Fadil's joy at the victory at Hattin

Al-Qadi al-Fadil was absent from the victory of Hattin. He was in Damascus, and when the news reached him, he wrote to the Sultan Saying:

> Congratulation to his highness, for Allah has supported the true religion through him. As the Saying goes, you have become my master and the master of every Muslim. By means of him, the true religion has become established. Two types of blessing, visible and invisible, have been bestowed upon him, and he has gained two types of kingdom, in this world and in the Hereafter. Your servant is writing this letter when heads have not yet been raised from prostration and tears have not yet been wiped from cheeks. Every time your servant thinks of these churches being turned back into mosques, and that in the places in which it was said that Allah is the third of three it is now being said that He is One, he renews his thanks to Allah, sometimes verbally and sometimes by the flow of tears from his eyes.[126]

An amazing dream

The mother of the sultan Salah ad-Deen used to Say that she had a dream whilst she was pregnant with the sultan that someone came to her and said, "In your womb there is one of the swords of Allah.[127]

Conquests on the coast before the Conquest of Jerusalem

After Allah blessed Salah ad-Deen al-Ayubi with the great victory over the Crusaders in the glorious Battle of Hattin, which was like the "key to the Muslim conquests"[128] in the region, he wanted to crown his great efforts by liberating the holy city and expelling the Crusaders from it, but he did not head towards Jerusalem straight away; rather he chose to head towards the coast in order to conquer the Crusader cities, fortresses and citadels that were scattered throughout that region. This was for several reasons:

- Attacking the holy city straightaway would lead to the mobilization of all Crusader armies in the region, who would gather together to fight him, thus making things difficult for him and delaying the liberation of Jerusalem.
- Conquest of the city by Salah ad-Deen would create a great deal of anxiety in the western world, which could lead to it rushing in with all its forces to fight him.[129]
- He was aware of the strength of the fortifications that the Crusaders had put around this city, inside and outside the walls.
- By heading towards the coastal cities, he wanted to deprive the Crusaders of their naval bases which connected them to the outside world, especially Western Europe, so that they would become besieged inside Greater Syria.

- He also wanted to facilitate rapid communication by sea between the sea ports on the Egyptian coast and the ports along the Greater Syrian coast.[130]

For all of these reasons, Salah ad-Deen headed towards the Crusader sites scattered along the coast. This was part of his plan that was aimed at weakening their forces and preventing reinforcements from Europe reaching them.[131]

On Sunday, 25 Rabee' II 583 AH/5 July 1187 CE, Salah ad-Deen besieged Tiberias. He captured its citadel and stayed there until the following Tuesday, putting its affairs in order. When he appointed Sarim ad-Deen Qaymaz an-Najami as its governor.[132] On Wednesday, 8 July 1187 CE, Salah ad-Deen set out towards Acre.[133] As soon as he reached it, its people came out to him, beseeching him for safety, so he granted them the safety of their lives and their property, and gave them the choice between staying or leaving; they chose to leave.

The Ayubid army entered Tiberias on a Friday in Jumada 1583 AH.[134] He seized the property and stores that were in the city, and released the Muslim captives who were being held there, of whom there were four thousand, without causing any harm to the local people or the Venetian and Pisano traders.[135] This tolerant policy that was followed by Salah ad-Deen was very useful, and made it easier for him to accomplish his mission of conquering the coastal cities without any great resistance, as a result of what had happened at Acre. His policy also allowed economic life to continue in that city, once the western merchants experienced his justice and tolerance.[136]

Salah ad-Deen stayed in the city of Acre for some time, as he used it as a center for his army during the conquest of nearby fortresses such as Nasirah, Caesarea, Haifa, Sephoria, Shaqeef, Foolah, Toor and other neighboring cities.[137] Then he captured the city of Nablus, where he granted security to the people of the city and to their wealth and possessions, because they were Muslims who had stayed

in the city after the Crusaders captured it.[138] He also conquered Sidon, Beirut and the region of Jubayl.

Salah ad-Deen wanted to conquer the city of Tyre after the conquest of Jerusalem, but he decided to head towards Ascalon because it was easier,[139] and because it was located at the crossroads between Syria and Egypt.[140] On his way to Ascalon, he captured Ramlah, the fortress of Toron, Bethlehem and Hebron. Ascalon surrendered to him in Rajab 583 AH/September 1187 CE.[141] He also conquered the cities of Gaza, Darum, Arsuf, Natrun and Bayt Jibreel. Al-'Adil, the brother of Salah ad-Deen, marched from Egypt and captured Jaffa. Thus the cities and fortresses of the interior fell, apart from Crac de Montreal and Kerak, which continued to resist, and thus the entire coast came under the control of Salah ad-Deen, from Beirut to Jaffa, apart from the city of Tyre, which was controlled by the Marquis Conrad de Montferrat at that time. He was very strong, smart and wealthy; he began to fortify the city and re-dug the moat in preparation for a confrontation with Salah ad-Deen,[142] especially since the Crusader troops who had departed from the coastal cities had all gathered in the city of Tyre, after Salah ad-Deen gave them the freedom to choose between going to Jerusalem or the city of Tyre, and most of them went to Tyre.[143]

Consequences of the Battle of Hattin

A decisive battle

The Battle of Hattin is described as a decisive battle, because we see that it changed the map of political entities in the region. Immediately after this battle, the mujahid sultan headed towards the cities of the Greater Syrian coast, which he conquered; they all fell one after another with the exception of Tyre, which was strongly fortified. Thus the problem of coastal Syria from which the Muslims had been expelled many years earlier, was solved. The Muslims were no longer to be kept inland. The cities of Acre, Jaffa, Sidon, Beirut, Jubayl, Ascalon and others fell. In fact, anyone who studies the historical sources from this period will be astonished by

the wave of Crusader cities that fell in an unprecedented manner, which reflected the overwhelming military superiority of the Muslims against their enemies.[144] The Crusader citadels, which for so long had raided Muslim areas, sometimes turning the lives of local inhabitants into a living hell, also fell.[145] Among the citadels that fell to the Ayubid army's operations we may mention Tiberias, Safad, Hunin, Toron, Baghras, Darabsak, Hajr Shaghlan, Qaseer and many others. After that came the Muslim Conquest of Jerusalem, the capital of the Crusader entity.[146]

The beginning of the end for the Crusader presence

The Battle of Hattin was more than just a military disaster that befell the Crusaders; in reality it carried the promise that the Muslims would succeed in destroying the greatest colonialist movement the world ever witnessed during the Middle Ages. It also represented the point at which the Crusader tide began to recede from the Muslim Near East and spelled the beginning of the end for the Crusader presence.[147] This battle put an end to ninety years of decline and division in the Muslim regions of the Near East. It confirmed the importance of unity among the areas of this geographical region, comprising southwest Asia and Egypt, in confronting all dangers. Hattin established a new beginning for the balance of power and confirmed that the Frankish forces could be defeated. Modern historical studies of the details of this era have shown that the Battle of Hattin ended in victory for Salah ad-Deen, but it did not completely uproot the Frankish presence. Strategically, it was a decisive battle that separated two stages: it ended the stage of retreat and defeat, and established a stage of victory and progress, paving the way for the long and difficult struggle that witnessed a great many advances and setbacks, attacks and counterattacks, until the Frankish positions were finally undermined and their kingdoms dismantled, and they were expelled from the region.[148]

Rise in Salah ad-Deen's status

One of the names of Allah is *ar-Rafi* 'the One Who raises'. The battle of Hattin was one of the causes by means of which Allah raised Salah ad-Deen in status, thus he joined the ranks of the senior Muslim mujahideen, leaders and rulers, as he restored the Muslims' self-confidence and the dignity that they had lost after the death of Noor ad-Deen Mahmood.[149] This victory had a far-reaching impact on the Muslims in general, and the people of Damascus in particular, because Damascus at that time was the center of his operations and the seat of his power. His judges and scribes were there, who throughout the battle were prostrating to Allah and praying to Him for victory against His enemies. When they learned of the victory, they expressed their joy with tears and moving words of thanks and praise to Allah.[150]

The Battle of Hattin: the key to Jerusalem

The Battle of Hattin was a battle of liberation for Palestine, because it is what paved the way to victory in Jerusalem and the rest of Palestine. Ibn Wasil described this battle by stating, "The Battle of Hattin was the key to the Muslim conquests, through which the Conquest of Jerusalem became possible."[151]

It is regarded as a link between the achievements of Noor ad-Deen Mahmood and Rukn ad-Deen Baybars al-Bunduqdari. Since the Franks had come to the Syrian coast and taken over Greater Syria, the Muslims had never seen a day like that of Hattin. May Allah have mercy on al-Malik an-Nasir and sanctify his soul, for after the Companions of the Prophet (SAW) (may Allah be pleased with them), Islam has never since been supported with a man like him or Noor ad-Deen[152] Mahmood ibn Zangi (may Allah have mercy on them both). They renewed Islam after it had been in decline, they built tawheed up after it had been knocked down, then after they were gone, Allah supported Islam by means of al-Malik al-Muzaffar Rukn ad-Deen Baybars, whose story is even more amazing, because he came after the Tatars had taken over most of the Muslim world, and the people had lost hope of any chance that

the Ummah would be revived. He defeated the Tatars and saved the Muslim world, and regained most of the coastal fortresses from the Franks.

Importance of geographic awareness

This battle highlighted the importance of being fully aware of the advantages of the geographic location of the Muslim east, and benefiting from those advantages, so that they could become an active factor in the Ummah's strength. One of the conclusions of this battle was the emergence of the importance of Egypt as a source of human and material resources that was of great importance in connecting the Muslim lands in the Near East. It also highlighted the importance of Palestine, which was regarded as a bridge or crossroads between Syria and Egypt.[153]

Respect and admiration for Salah ad-Deen

After this victory, the name of Salah ad-Deen began to strike fear into the hearts of the Crusaders: fear that was mixed with admiration, because the conquests were characterized by nobility, chivalry and decency. His tolerant and kind treatment of their prisoners had a great impact in causing a number of cities and fortresses to surrender without putting up any resistance worth mentioning. In fact he demonstrated immense mercy and chivalry in his dealings with the Crusaders. By virtue of these characteristics, his armies exercised self-control in victory and avoided committing the kind of bestial acts that were prevalent during that era. In a discussion of the chivalry of Salah ad-Deen towards the wives and daughters of the Crusaders, Arnold wrote:

> He was very generous towards them, to such an extent that they praised God, and when they left they spoke a great deal of the compassion and respect with which Salah ad-Deen had treated them. He honored Eschiva, the wife of Raymond III, and allowed her to leave the citadel of Tiberias safely. She left with her property and her retinue — men and women —and went to Tripoli, where Balian of Ibelin was among the princes who had

escaped, but whose wife and children were in Jerusalem. Salah ad-Deen allowed him to go to the city to bring his wife and children out, but he stipulated that he should not stay there for more than one night.[154]

Western Europe, especially France, showed a great deal of admiration and praise for Salah ad-Deen, to such an extent that in European literary works he became a legendary figure beyond the framework of objective historical reality.[155] The defeat of the Crusaders at Hattin caused a loss of dignity to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, especially after the capture of its king, Guy de Lusignan. As a result of this battle there was a tangible decrease in the number of fighting knights, as most of the Crusader knights and most of the army of Jerusalem fell in this battle, either slain or captured; those who saw the slain said that there were no prisoners, and those who saw the prisoners said that there were no slain.[166]

Cumulative efforts that preceded Salah ad-Deen

The victories of Salah ad-Deen did not come out of the blue, and his military achievements were not attained without prior efforts on the political, military, organizational and administrative fronts. Reform and revival efforts had gone on for more than a century until the time came to reap their harvest at the time of Imad ad-Deen Zangi and Noor ad-Deen Zangi. The latter is regarded as the true founder of the major changes that were seen in Syria and then Egypt. Noor ad-Deen Mahmood was known for his military victories, his reforms and his achievements in propagating Islam. He was famous for building schools and educational establishments; he paid attention to the judiciary and building mosques and fortresses. He spread knowledge in Aleppo and Damascus and other cities of Syria. During his era the judiciary regained its legitimate historical role. He built a court house and encouraged the scholars and fuqaha' to play their role in the psychological preparation of the troops, conveying the message and teaching the basics of Arabic language, fiqh and Hadith to the commanders of his army. In this academic atmosphere, Salah ad-Deen received his religious education. He studied under the scholar of Hadith Ahmad

ibn Muhammad al-Isfahani, the preacher 'Ali ibn Ibraheem ibn Naja and Najm ad-Deen al-Habooshani, These were some of the scholars who supervised the education of the third generation of political and military leaders, who had the honor of inflicting defeat on the Frankish forces after a hundred years of on-again off-again confrontation. Salah ad-Deen did not do this by himself, rather Allah guided him. Moreover, this was the historical objective and outcome of advancement which had begun with the religious reform movement[157] that had been led by Nizam al-Mulk at the time of the Seljuks, the prominent figures of which included Imam al-Juwayni, Abu Is-haq ash-Shirazi, al-Ghazali and others. These efforts bore fruit, the most important of which included the battle of Hattin and the conquest of Jerusalem at the hands of Salah ad-Deen.

CHAPTER II
The Conquest of Jerusalem

Hattin is regarded as a decisive battle in the history of the Muslim-Crusader wars, as the kingdom of Jerusalem lost its main military forces in this battle, and the greatest Crusader army ever put together since the establishment of that Crusader entity was destroyed. The victorious commander in this battle, who prevailed over the Crusaders, became the leader of the whole Muslim world.[158] After Hattin, the Crusaders, especially in the holy kingdom, no longer had any strength to boast about. Hence as soon as Ascalon and Gaza surrendered to Salah ad-Deen in September of the same year, Salah ad-Deen decided to set out with his army that had regrouped in southern Palestine, after having been spread out for several years to complete the unification of Greater Syria. As soon as this army began to head north towards Jerusalem to take it by the sword, the city of Jerusalem began to prepare to resist the

Muslim commander who had come to challenge its strength and might after eighty-eight years of Crusader occupation.[159]

Crusader preparations inside Jerusalem

The number of Crusader fighters inside Jerusalem was more than sixty thousand horsemen, apart from the women and children, according to Abu Shamah in *Kitab ar-Rawdatayn.*[160] It seems that the number of inhabitants, and hence the number of fighters, had increased due to the arrival of refuges from neighboring cities and villages of Palestine which had been exposed to danger during the Muslim-Crusader fighting. Runciman states that most of these refugees did not know how to fight and there were very few men among them; for every man there were fifty women and children. There were no more than two knights in the city, which prompted Balian to appoint as a knight every boy over the age of sixteen who was descended from a noble family. He recruited all the males who had reached this age and distributed weapons to everyone who was able to bear arms.[161] The fighters spread out along the walls and fortifications, set out the mangonels and dug ditches. Abu Shamah remarked, "They (the Crusaders) set up a mangonel on every hill, dug deep ditches and fortified every part of the wall, and they put a group of fighters in every tower.[162] Ibn al-Atheer differed with Runciman concerning the number of knights in Jerusalem before the recruitment of boys from noble families and their appointment as knights. He says that there were the Crusader knights who had survived the battle of Hattin, and that a lot of people had gathered in the city from surrounding areas, such as Ascalon and elsewhere. They all climbed onto the walls with their armour and weapons, set up the mangonels and fortified the walls as much as they could.[163]

Salah ad-Deen's military plan

Steps that preceded the liberation of Jerusalem

Salah ad-Deen's military ability was manifested in the military plan that he followed in his jihad against the Crusaders to regain Jerusalem. This plan was based on forming a united Islamic front that included Egypt, Greater Syria and parts of Iraq, then confronting the Crusaders on their own territory and dealing a heavy blow to them, as happened at the Battle of Hattin. That was followed by his march to the cities of the Syrian coast in order to weaken the Crusaders physically and morally. If Salah ad-Deen had headed towards Jerusalem straight after his victory at Hattin, he would have been able to enter it without any difficulty. However, capturing Jerusalem before gaining control of the coastal cities would not have guaranteed him full stability in Jerusalem. It was to be expected that Western Europe would send Crusader armies to the ports of Syria and their knights would come, in groups and individually, and enter into a heated conflict with Salah ad-Deen to take back Jerusalem. Jerusalem was dear to them because it contained the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which according to their false belief, as Imad ad-Deen al-Isfahani says, was where the Messiah was crucified, and offered as a sacrifice, the divine was incarnated and the human became divine, and the cross was raised.[164]

By the grace of Allah and this military plan that was implemented by Salah ad-Deen to gain control of the coastal strip, he isolated Jerusalem and prevented the arrival of reinforcements, thus dashing the hopes of all the Crusaders, whether in Western Europe or in Greater Syria, of reaching Jerusalem and saving it from the Muslim armies. When Salah ad-Deen took Ascalon and other cities that surrounded Jerusalem back from the Crusaders, and thus ensured that the Kingdom of Jerusalem was thoroughly isolated, he then resolved to take action and decided to head for Jerusalem. They issued commands and all the Muslim troops that were spread out along the coast rallied behind him.[165]

The media dimension

The Muslim military forces had taken part with Salah ad-Deen in the Battle of Hattin, and he took advantage of their presence in Syria, before they returned to their chiefs, to take control of the cities and ports along the coast. Salah ad-Deen was eager for his march on Jerusalem to be preceded by what may be described as a media campaign addressed to all parts of the Muslim world, aimed at mobilizing the Muslims for jihad. This stirred the Muslims to engage in jihad and take part in the purification of that holy site, the first of qibla and the third holy sanctuary, the site to which Muhammad had travelled during his night journey. Abu Shamah and Ibn Katheer stated that as soon as the Muslims heard about the coastal conquests with which Allah had blessed Salah ad-Deen, they came to him from all over, led by the scholars and jurisprudents, who came to volunteer in the jihad to put an end to the Crusader presence in Greater Syria.[166]

Summoning the Egyptian forces

On the other hand, Salah ad-Deen summoned the Egyptian forces during his campaign along the coast, to help him in taking back the southern cities and citadels. He met his son al-Malik al-'Azeez 'Uthman in Ascalon and was very happy to see him, and he was a great support to him. It seems that despite his complete control over the cities and ports of the Syrian coast, Salah ad-Deen was worried about a Crusader attack from the West whilst he was advancing towards Jerusalem. Hence he ordered the fleet to come and take part in the jihad. It sailed to him from Egypt, led by Admiral Lu'lu', and began to roam the sea, intercepting Crusader ships and boats at the time when supplies were coming easily from Egypt to Syria by Land and sea. When Salah ad-Deen found out that the city of Jerusalem was fully fortified, because of the great esteem in which it was held in Crusader hearts, he made sure to bring with him all his siege engines in order to breach its walls with their high towers.[167] He

brought mangonels, ballistae, naphtha-throwers, stone-cutters, borers and other equipment that was necessary for knocking down walls, or for making holes in the walls then filling them with wood and naphtha and setting fire to them, in order to create gaps in the walls through which they could breach the defenses and enter the city.[168]

The siege and fighting

The Crusaders began to fight before the Muslim army took up positions around the walls of the city, before 20th September, when a detachment of scouts from the Muslim army approached the walls, led by the emir Jamal ad-Deen Sharween ibn Hasan ar-Razi. A detachment of guards from the city came out to fight them and was defeated, and the (Crusader) commander was killed.[169] This happened before Salah ad-Deen positioned his army on the west side of the city.

Whatever the case, Salah ad-Deen began the actual fighting against the enemy besieged behind the walls of the city in the morning of 21 Rajab 583 AH/26 September 1187 CE/. He advanced with his army towards the walls under heavy artillery cover from the mangonels, as was common practice at that time. There were twelve large mangonels capable of throwing heavy rocks. Under this artillery cover the sappers also advanced, and began to dig holes in the walls. There was fierce fighting between the two sides; those guarding the city tried to strike the Muslims and stop their advance with their arrows and mangonels from atop the walls and battlements. They fought with unprecedented ferocity, whilst the knights came out of the city and engaged in combat. But that did not deter the Muslims from their advance and their efforts to undermine the walls and destroy the fortifications with their mangonels. Many were killed on both sides during this battle. Among the slain was the emir Izz ad-Deen 'Eesa ibn Malik, whose father was the ruler of the citadel of Ja'bar.[170] The fighting continued violently after that; Grossier describes the battle that

took place at the walls of the city as being so fierce that it had no precedent, with a very real thirst for martyrdom. He goes on to say that it was the fiercest of battles, such as humankind had never before seen. Each man in both armies regarded this conflict as a religious act and an absolute obligation.[171] Salah ad-Deen's artillery was so superior that the fall of the walls was inevitable; the sappers working under cover of the mangonel attack succeeded in opening a gap in the wall,[172] and the Crusader knights and nobles decided to launch a suicide attack against the Muslims outside the walls, but the Patriarch Heraclius deterred them from doing so after convincing them that this 'heroic action' of theirs would mean abandoning the women and children to the enemy with no defence.[173]

The decisive attack

After this violent fighting, Salah ad-Deen decided to launch a decisive attack on the city. He intensified the mangonel fire as a cover for the attackers to advance. They were also covered by a hail of arrows shot by the archers towards the defenders on the walls, aimed at rendering them unable to resist. This made those defenders retreat from their positions, whilst the Muslims advanced and crossed the outer ditch that had been dug around the wall. They then stuck close to the wall and began to knock holes in it and destroy it. The assault from the mangonels intensified and the archers kept shooting their arrows, advancing behind the attackers and protecting them. The attackers succeeded in creating several gaps in the wall, which was almost taken over by the attackers. It the same time on 29 September, the attackers managed to open a large gap in the wall, through which the Muslims entered and raised their banners on the wall. The defenders soon rallied, however, and drove the Muslims back from the wall, but despite that the defenders realized that their defense was futile and that they would be destroyed; in fact they would be doomed for certain if they persisted in their stubbornness.[174] The people crowded into the churches to pray and confess their sins, and began beating themselves with rocks,

hoping for help and mercy from God. The women cut their daughters' hair in hopes of stirring the men to defend them from being taken captive by the Muslims.[175]

Negotiations for the handover of Jerusalem

The Crusaders agreed to send envoys to ask for safety in return for handing over the city to Salah ad-Deen, but Salah ad-Deen refused to respond to that request, saying, "I will only do to you what you did to its people when you took possession of it in 491 AH, when you killed them and took them captive, *for the recompense for an evil is an evil like unto it."*[716]

When Salah ad-Deen sent the envoys back empty-handed and frustrated, the Crusaders met together again in Jerusalem and tried to launch a sudden attack against the Muslims, but the Patriarch Heraclius objected to that and explained to them that if they did that, they would be driving their women and children into slavery, and he urged them to seek safety from Salah ad-Deen. Balian de Ibelin sent word to Salah ad-Deen, asking him for safety for himself, so that he could come and negotiate. Salah ad-Deen responded to that and Balian came to him and asked him to grant safety to the Crusaders, but Salah ad-Deen insisted on conquering the city by the sword. When Balian despaired of succeeding in his quest, he decided to provoke Salah ad-Deen's pity by threatening to kill the women and children and Muslim prisoners. He said to him:

> O Sultan, you should realize that in this city we are very many, only God knows how many we are. They did not want to carry on fighting, in hopes of being granted safety, because they thought that you would respond to their request as you did to others. They dislike death and want to live, but if we see no other alternative, then by God, we will kill our children and womenfolk and burn our wealth and property, and we will not leave anything for you to take as booty, not a single dinar or dirham, and you will not take

> captive a single man or woman. When we have finished with that, we will destroy the Dome of the Rock, the Farthest Mosque, and other places; then we will kill the Muslim prisoners we have, of whom there are five thousand, and we will not leave any man until he kills others like him. We will die with dignity and attain honor.[177]

Salah ad-Deen consulted his companions, and they explained to him that it would be sufficient to fulfill his oath to capture Jerusalem by the sword if the city surrendered subject to conditions, and that would be the same as if it fell as a result of fighting. In this case, the inhabitants of the city would be regarded as prisoners of war.[178] Salah ad-Deen agreed to grant them safety in return for handing over Jerusalem and he agreed to let the Crusaders leave the city in return for a ransom, which he set at ten dinars per man, rich or poor alike, and five dinars per woman.[179] Both Sibt ibn al-Jawzi and al-Imad al-Hanbali added that Salah ad-Deen stipulated four dinars for boys.[180] With regard to infants, there was a difference of opinion concerning the ransom that was stipulated for them. Some were of the view that the ransom was one dinar[181] whereas others said that it was two dinars.[182] It seems that the former is more likely, based on the consensus of Crusader sources. As for the poor and destitute, Salah ad-Deen agreed that Balian was to pay a lump sum for their release, the value of which was thirty thousand dinars. Salah ad-Deen gave Balian a time limit of forty days; whoever paid his ransom within that time would be allowed to leave, and whoever was left after that would become a slave. The city was handed over on Friday 27 Rajab 583 AH/12 October 1187 CE.[183] Abu Shamah said, quoting alIsfahani in *Sana al-Barq ash-Shami***,** that following the signing of the agreement to handover the city, the Crusaders began to ransack their own houses, selling the supplies and food that they had stored for the cheapest price, virtually giving it away for free, especially things that could not be moved or were difficult to carry. As Allah has described them thus:

“How much they left behind of gardens and springs and crops and noble sites. And comforts wherein they were amused! Thus [it was]! And We caused to inherit it another people.” ***(Qur'an 44: 25-28)***

Salah ad-Deen's entry into Jerusalem

The agreement between Salah ad-Deen and Balian was that the city was to be handed over according to the conditions that we have mentioned. Salah ad-Deen entered the city on Friday 27 Rajab 583 AH, after giving his instructions to its garrison to lay down their weapons and surrender to the Muslim troops. It was a great day on which the Islamic banners were raised on the walls of the holy city. Salah ad-Deen's siege of the city had lasted for twelve days. With the fall of Jerusalem, most of the cities and places that were still controlled by the Crusaders in most parts of Greater Syria collapsed before Salah ad-Deen. He entered Jerusalem on 27 Rajab, which was the date of the Night Journey of the Prophet (SAW) He ordered that one of the commanders be placed at each gate of the city to receive the ransom from the Crusaders who were leaving the city, and to keep count of it. There were precisely sixty thousand men in the city, both knights and foot soldiers, apart from the women and children who accompanied them.[184] Ibn al-Atheer remarked:

> That comes as no surprise, for the city was large and people had gathered there from Ascalon and elsewhere, from ad-Darum, Ramlah, Gaza and other towns, filling its streets and churches to the extent that one could hardly walk.[185]

As for Salah ad-Deen, after he gained full control of the holy city, he ordered that it be rebuilt as it had been before it was occupied by the Crusaders, who had changed many of the Islamic features of the city; they had set up a large golden cross on top of the Dome of the Rock, which Salah ad-Deen ordered to be taken

down. The Knights Templar had built homes for themselves in the western part of al-Masjid al-Aqsa, and had also built baths and latrines there. Salah ad-Deen ordered that the buildings be put back as they had been before. He also issued orders that the mosque and the Dome of the Rock be purified of filth and impurities, then he appointed an imam for al-Masjid al-Aqsa and set up a minbar in it; he also erased the images in it and in neighboring buildings that the Crusaders had placed there. He allowed the local Christians of Jerusalem to go back to their homes and permitted them to buy whatever the Franks wanted to sell of their possessions.[186]

History has never known any conqueror more merciful than the Muslims

Salah ad-Deen fulfilled his promise to allow whoever paid a set amount to leave; at every gate he allocated an emir, one of the senior commanders, to keep track; whoever paid the ransom was allowed to leave.[187] Despite the small amount that Salah ad-Deen stipulated in return for allowing them to leave Jerusalem and guarantee them safe passage to their destination, a great many of them were unable to pay this sum for themselves, so after forty days had passed they became prisoners of the Muslims. Not one of the rich crusaders did anything to ransom the poor. The Patriarch Heraclius left Jerusalem with his great wealth, not paying attention to anyone else.[188] It seems that this was due to the lack of family or other ties among the Crusaders at that time. The prisoners were a mixture of different European ethnic groups and peoples, and western mercenaries who had travelled to the east in order to escape the serfdom that was prevalent in European society.[189]

To sum up, this disgraceful attitude on the part of the senior Crusaders and the chivalry and tolerance displayed by Salah ad-Deen compelled one English writer to express his admiration for Salah ad-Deen when he wrote, after criticizing the Patriarch, "This was an opportunity for the Muslim king to teach the Christians the

meaning of tolerance."[190] Salah ad-Deen and other Muslim emirs confirmed this attitude of tolerance and chivalry when thousands of Crusader civilians who could not pay the stipulated ransom became the captives of Salah ad-Deen, and al-Malik al-'Adil sent word to his brother, the sultan Salah ad-Deen, asking him to give him one thousand of those poor Crusaders so that he could release them for the sake of Allah. Salah ad-Deen responded to this request. This humane action on the part of al-Malik al-'Adil moved the Patriarch and Balian, and they came to Salah ad-Deen and asked him to do likewise, so Salah ad-Deen gave them what they asked for and let them go. When he ordered his guards to call out in the streets of Jerusalem that he would release any of the Crusaders who could not pay the ransom because of old age, and that this group should go to the rear gate of the city so that they could be released from sunrise until nightfall. No sooner was the proclamation made but innumerable Crusaders made their way to that gate.[191] The emir of Bira requested the release of around five hundred Armenians, telling Salah ad-Deen that they were from his Land and that they had come to Jerusalem to worship there. The emir Muzaffar ad-Deen 'Ali Koojak also requested the release of around a thousand Armenians, claiming that they were from Edessa, and Salah ad-Deen responded to that and let them go.[192] Muslim tolerance was not limited only to the actions of Salah ad-Deen, his brother al-Malik al-'Adil and the senior emirs; it extended to the Muslim common folk too.

Salah ad-Deen showed a great deal of tolerance and good treatment towards the Crusader captives in Jerusalem. Salah ad-Deen's generosity and gallantry extended to the wives and daughters of the Crusader knights who had been killed or captured during their battles with Salah ad-Deen. They gathered before Salah ad-Deen, weeping. He asked about their situation and what they wanted, and he was told that they were pleading for mercy. Salah ad-Deen felt sorry for them and allowed anyone whose husband was still alive to point him out, then he released them and allowed them to go wherever they wanted. As for the women and girls whose husbands and fathers had been killed, Salah ad-Deen ordered that they be given, from

his personal wealth, enough to sustain them according to their position, and he gave to them until they began to pray for him.[193]

A devout Crusader queen

There was, in Jerusalem, a Crusader queen who was a devout worshipper and ascetic, who was fanatical in her devotion to the cross. She was distressed by the calamity and was strict and fanatical in her adherence to her religion, sighing with grief, her tears flowing like rain from a cloud. She was a woman of wealth, position and property, with supporters and followers. She sought the protection of the sultan, which he granted her, and he set her and all her retinue free. He allowed her to take all her wealth with her in sacks and saddlebags, and to keep all her jeweled crosses and precious items, and the best of her wealth. So she left, with all her wealth and her retinue, both men and women, her sacks and bags, and her boxes with locks, followed by people who were not her followers. She departed joyfully, even though her grief still ran deep.[194]

The wife of a captive king

The wife of the captive king Guy, who was the daughter of Amalric, had remained in Jerusalem with her retinue and male and female servants. She asked for permission to join her husband, who was being kept in chains in the Nablus Tower with someone appointed to take care of him until the day of his release, and permission was given to her. So she and her retinue joined him, and she stayed with her husband.[195]

Princess Stephanie, mother of Humphrey

Princess Stephanie de Milly, mother of Humphrey, was the daughter of Philip and the widow of Reynald, the prince whose blood was shed on the day of Hattin. She set out surrounded by her retinue, and came to ask about her captive son.

She was given a promise that if she gave up her fortress, her son would be released to her. Then she was let off, released and granted security; her son Humphrey, son of Humphrey, was brought to her from Damascus, and she was overjoyed to see him. The princes and confidants through whom the fortresses were to be handed over went with her, and she went to her fortresses prepared to hand them over, but the occupants refused and would not let her in, so she went back, humiliated and disappointed. She went to live in Tyre and entrusted her son to the Sultan, who promised to let him go when those fortresses were handed over.[196]

Salah ad-Deen respected the Christians' feelings

Salah ad-Deen respected the Christians' feelings. Following his entry into Jerusalem, some of the Muslims suggested to him that he should demolish the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and erase all traces of it, saying:

> If you demolish it, turn the place upside down, dig up the grave, extinguish the candles and leave no trace of the place, then there will be no visitors coming to it and there will be no reason for the people of Hell to try to come back. So long as the building remains, visitors will come to it.

However, others reminded him, "When the Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar (RA), conquered Jerusalem in the early years of Islam, he left this place for them and did not tell them to demolish the building.[197] True to his tolerant nature, Salah ad-Deen rejected the idea of demolishing it.[198]

Permitting some Christians to remain in Jerusalem

Some of the Christians beseeched Salah ad-Deen to allow them to stay in Jerusalem after they paid the ransom that had been agreed upon, and they swore to him that they would not disturb anyone and that they would carry out their civic duties. Salah ad-Deen agreed to that, and stipulated conditions that they accepted and agreed to follow. They paid the jizyah with willing submission and were treated as

dhimmis, so they had the same rights and duties as the Muslims.[199] Thus the Muslims showed mercy towards the city that had fallen to them. If we recall the Crusaders' entry into Jerusalem in 1099 CE, when Godfrey and Tancred spread death in the streets and the Muslim defenders were drowned and burned and thrown into the river of blood, when the Crusaders waded ankle-deep in the blood of the slain, and remember how they plundered, pillaged and took women as captives, [200] then we will see the huge difference between the tolerance of Salah ad-Deen and the bestiality of the Crusader leaders. The extent of Salah ad-Deen's adherence to principles of tolerance and the just rulings of Islamic Sharia, and his clear avoidance of being ruled by his emotions and his feelings towards the Crusaders, whose abhorrent crimes had occurred less than a century before, will become apparent.[201] James Reston remarks:

> Thus Salah ad-Deen's troops behaved in an ideal manner when they occupied Jerusalem in 1187. Salah ad-Deen thought of his reputation and how it would be after taking revenge for what the Crusaders had done in the First Crusade in 1099. Because he protected the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and many other Christian sites, everyone would remember his tolerance towards the followers of other faiths, and towards the holy places of the Christian religion. It seems that his actions were regarded as a standard and example of the right behavior. Because of his forbearance and other good aspects in him, and his treatment of his enemies, he will remain forever famous for his kindness, tolerance and wisdom.[202]

Steven Runciman's opinion

The enemy's testimony proves the point even more. Steven Runciman notes:

> In fact, the victorious Muslims were known for their uprightness and humanity, whilst the Franks for eighty-eight years had been wallowing in the blood of their enemies. No house was exposed to plunder, no individual was harmed. The police, acting on instructions from Salah ad-Deen, started

patrolling the streets and gates, preventing any aggression to which the Christians might be exposed. One of the incidents that provoked grief and sorrow is what happened when al-'Adil turned to his brother Salah ad-Deen asking him to release one thousand captives as a reward for his service to him, and Salah ad-Deen gave them to him, then al-'Adil released them immediately. The Patriarch Heraclius was very pleased to see this inexpensive method of doing righteous deeds, and he could not help asking Salah ad-Deen to give him some slaves so that he could release them too. So Salah ad-Deen gave him seven hundred captives, and gave Balian five hundred. Then Salah ad-Deen announced that he was going to release every elderly person, man or woman. When the womenfolk of the Franks who had ransomed themselves came, with their eyes filled with tears, and asked Salah ad-Deen what their fate would be after their husbands and fathers had met their deaths or fallen captive, he replied with a promise that he would release any of their husbands who were in captivity, and he would give a sum to the widows and orphans from his own wealth, each according to her status. In fact his mercy and compassion were quite the opposite of what the Christian invaders showed in the First Crusade.[203]

Grousset's opinion

Unlike the Crusaders, Salah ad-Deen fulfilled his promises on the basis of honor, humanity and chivalry, which provoked the admiration of the Latin historians who discussed the events of that era. Some fanatics asked Salah ad-Deen to demolish the Christian places of worship and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with the aim of stopping the pilgrimages of Christians who "believed in the holy trinity", but he rejected their argument when he said, "Why should we destroy and demolish, so long as the focal point of their worship is the place of the cross and the holy sepulchre, not the external building? Even if the building were leveled to the ground, the various

Christian groups will never give up striving to reach this place. So we will do what the caliph 'Umar did, when he preserved this building after the Conquest of Jerusalem in the early years of Islam."

Rene Grousset commented, "All this sultan's good character and respect for freedom of opinion and belief is represented in this beautiful statement."[204]

Salah ad-Deen, with his Islamic attitude, astounded the kings and leaders of the west, as they were leading their armies in Greater Syria. Even the French used to say that he had French blood in him, and the Germans, English and Italians all wrote brilliant stories about the attitude of Salah ad-Deen and talked about him in their towns, cities and theatres.[205] Salah ad-Deen was indeed an Islamic man in all senses of the word, following the example of the Messenger Muhammad (SAW) in his forgiveness, forbearance and tolerance. One of the European historians said concerning him, "It will always be remembered that a harsh and bloody era such as that era could not corrupt a man of great power and authority, such as Salah ad-Deen.[206] The greatest evidence of the respect that the Franks had for this rare heroism and tolerance is the interest that the German emperor Wilhelm II showed in visiting the tomb of Salah ad-Deen when he visited Syria in 1315 AH/1898 CE, accompanied by the empress. He delivered a speech in which he praised Salah ad-Deen, and the empress sent a wreath of flowers to be placed on the grave of the great hero.

First Jumu'ah prayer in Jerusalem

When crosses, bells, monks, pigs and priests had been removed from the sacred mosque, and the believers entered it and the call to prayer was given, and the devil fled and the Qur'an was recited therein, and the place had been purified, the first Jumu'ah prayer was held on the fourth day of Sha'ban, eight days after the conquest. The minbar was set up beside the purified prayer area, fine carpets were spread throughout its vast interior, lamps were hung up and the Qur'an was recited instead of

the distorted versions of the Gospel that had been read in the past. Truth came and falsehood was cancelled out; carpets were laid out and there was a great deal of prostration and other acts of worship, and many supplications were offered. Blessings came down and distress was relieved; prayers were established, the adhan was given and the bells were silenced. The muezzins were present and the priests were absent; people felt at ease and tranquility prevailed. Cheerfulness was widespread and unhappiness was dispelled, and the worshippers and ascetics were present. The One was worshipped with much bowing and prostrating, standing and sitting. The mosque was full and tears flowed from hearts filled with emotion. This was a great and noble day, an immense blessing, a splendid occasion, a day when supplications were answered and blessings came down, when tears flowed and obstacles were overcome. Muezzins gave the call to prayer when the sun passed its zenith and people's hearts soared with joy at the new situation. Until that moment the sultan had not appointed a khateeb, but many scholars had prepared for it lest they be called upon and find themselves unprepared. To appoint the khateeb a decree came from the sultan when he was in the blessed Dome of the Rock: Al Qadi Muhiy ad-Deen ibn az-Zaki was to be the khateeb today, so he put on the black cloak of authority and ascended the minbar. Allah gave him dignity and honored him with words of righteousness. He delivered a great and eloquent khutbah to the people, in which he mentioned the nobility of the sacred house, and what was narrated of its virtues, the signs to be found in it, and this great blessing that Allah had bestowed upon the people present, which was equal to many righteous deeds. Shaykh Shihab ad-Deen Abu Shamah quoted it in Kitab ar-Rawdatayn at length.

Text of the Khutbah

The first thing that he said when he spoke was:

So the people that committed wrong were eliminated. And all the praises and thanks are to Allah, the Lord of the worlds.

(Qur'an 6: 45)

He quoted words of praise from the Qur'an, and then he said:

Allah is Able to attain victory

Praise be to Allah Who has humiliated polytheism by His might, Who controls all affairs by His decree, Who perpetuates blessings by means of gratitude, Who punishes the disbelievers from directions they perceive not, Who decrees the alternation of days by His justice, grants the best end to the pious by His grace, grants shade to His slaves and causes His religion to prevail over all others. {He is the Irresistible [Supreme], above His slaves} (Qur'an 6: 18) Who cannot be resisted, the Prevailer over His creation Who cannot be disputed; the One Who decrees what He wills and cannot be questioned; the One Who rules as He wants and cannot be resisted. Praise Him for causing His slaves to be victorious and to prevail, for granting honor to His close friends and supporting those who support His cause, for purifying His sacred house from the filth of polytheism. Praise Him inwardly and outwardly.

Praise for the noble Messenger and his Companions

I bear witness that there is no one worthy of worship other than Allah alone, with no partner or associate, the One, the Self-Sufficient Master, Whom all creatures need, {He begets not, nor was He begotten. And there is none equal or comparable unto Him} (Qur'an 112: 2-4). This is the testimony of one whose heart has been purified by tawheed and is content with Him as his Lord. I bear witness that Muhammad is His slave and messenger, the dispeller of doubt, the defeater of polytheism, the toppler of falsehood, who was taken on the Night Journey from al-

Masjid al-Haram to this, al-Masjid al-Aqsa, and was taken up thence to the highest heaven, to the Lote-Tree of the Utmost Boundary *(Sidrat al-Muntaha).*

{Near it is the Garden of refuge [Paradise]. When there covered the lote tree that which covered it! The sight [of Prophet Muhammad (SAW)] did not swerve, nor did it transgress [its limit].} ***(Qur'an 53: 15-17)***

May Allah send blessings and peace upon him and upon his successor *as-Siddeeq*[207] (Abu Bakr), the first one to believe, and upon the Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar ibn al-Khattab (RA) the first one to remove from this house the symbol of the cross, and upon the Commander of the Faithful 'Uthman ibn 'Affan (RA), *Dhun-Noorayn*[208] and the collector of the Qur'an, and upon the Commander of the Faithful 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, the destroyer of polytheism and breaker of idols, and upon his family and Companions and those who follow them in truth.[209]

May Allah be pleased with the mujahideen

O people, receive glad tidings of the pleasure of Allah, which is the ultimate goal and highest status because of what Allah has brought about at your hands: the regaining of this lost and from that misguided nation, which has been restored to Islam, where it belongs, after it was transgressed against by the polytheists for nearly one hundred years; the purification of this house which Allah has ordered to be raised (to be cleaned, and to be honored) {…in them His Name is remembered...} (Qur'an 24: 36); the removal of polytheism from it after having been dominated by it and its becoming deeply entrenched. Now it is built on a solid foundation of tawheed and piety, for it is based on piety.

The qualities of al-Masjid al-Aqsa

It is the home of your father Ibraheem, the place of ascent *{Mi'raj)* of your Prophet Muhammad (SAW), your qibla towards which you used to pray at the beginning of Islam. It is the homeland of the prophets, the focal point of the friends of

Allah, the refuge of the messengers, the place where revelation came down, the place to which commands and prohibitions were sent down. It is in the land of resurrection and gathering. It is in the holy land which Allah has mentioned in His clear Book. It is the mosque in which the Messenger of Allah led the highest-ranking angels in prayer; it is the land to which Allah sent His slave and Messenger, His Word which He bestowed upon Maryam and a Spirit from Him, 'Eesa, whom He honored with the office of Allah's Messenger and Prophet who never departed from a position of servitude to Allah. Allah Says:

Never would the Messiah disdain to be a servant of Allah. (Qur'an 4: 172)

They have certainly disbelieved who Say that Allah is Christ, the son of Mary (Qur'an 5: 17)

It is the first of the two qiblas, the second of the two mosques and the third of the holy sanctuaries. So journey is to be undertaken to any mosque, after the two holiest, except to it.

Congratulations to Salah ad-Deen and his Muslim troops for their victory

Were it not for the fact that you were among those whom Allah had chosen from among His slaves and selected from among the inhabitants of His land, you would not have been singled out for this virtue in which no one can compete with you or attain the honor that you have attained. Glad tidings to you of an army at whose hands appeared miraculous battles like Badr, resolve like that of (Abu Bakr) as-Siddeeq, conquests like those of 'Umar, armies like those of 'Uthman, power like that of 'Ali. You have brought back for Islam days like those of al-Qadisiyah, Yarmook and Khaybar, and battle charges like those of Khalid ibn al-Waleed. May Allah reward you with the best of rewards on behalf of His Prophet Muhammad (SAW) and

show appreciation for what you have done; may Allah reward you for offering your souls in fighting the enemy, and may Allah accept from you what you offered of your blood in order to draw close to Him, and reward you with paradise, for it is the abode of the blessed.

Thanking Allah for the victory

Appreciate this blessing, may Allah have mercy on you, as it should be appreciated, and fulfill the duty towards Allah of giving thanks to Him for bestowing this blessing upon you exclusively and for choosing you to do this service, because this is the conquest for which the gates of heaven were opened. By means of its light the darkness was illuminated and the angels who are close to Allah rejoiced and the Prophet (SAW) and Messengers were comforted. What greater blessing can there be than your being made the army that would conquer Jerusalem towards the end of time, the troops by means of whose swords the banners of faith would be raised a while after the time of Prophet-hood? It may be that the exchange of congratulations among the people of heaven is greater than that among the people of earth.

Virtues of al-Aqsa and al-Quds

Is it not the House to which Allah refers in His Book and mentions by name When He Says:

Exalted is He [Allah] Who took His Servant [Muhammad] by night from Al-Masjid al-Haram [at Makah] to Al-Masjid al-Aqsa [in Jerusalem], whose surroundings We have blessed. ***(Qur'an 17: 1)***

Is it not the House which was venerated by kings and praised by Messengers, in which the four Books which were revealed from your God, Glorified and Exalted, are recited? Is it not the House for the sake of which Allah held back the sun for Joshua, holding it back from setting and causing it to move slowly until he achieved victory? Is it not the House which Allah commanded Moosa to enjoin his

people to save, but no one responded except two men, and Allah was angry with them because of it and made them wander in the wilderness as a punishment for their disobedience?

Gratitude to Allah alone

So praise Allah, Who strengthened your resolve to do that which the Children of Israel refused to do at the time when they were favored above all others; He enabled you to do that which the nations who came before you failed to do, and caused you to unite for His sake after being divided, and made it a matter of 'was' and 'have' instead of 'will' and 'until'.

The angels thank Allah for the mujahideen

Congratulations to you, for Allah has mentioned you among those who are close to Him; He has made you his troops and praised you to the angels, for what you have given to this House of the fragrance of tawheed, spreading sanctification and praise of Allah, and what you have removed from this place of the stench of polytheism, the 'trinity' and evil beliefs. Now the angels of heaven are praying for forgiveness for you, and sending blessings upon you.

Prohibition of arrogance and committing sin

Take care of this blessing that has been given to you and guard it by fearing Allah. The one who adheres to that and clings to this handhold will be safe and will be protected. Beware of following whims and desires, or following the route that leads to doom, or turning back on your heels and forgetting about fighting the enemy. Make the most of this opportunity, remove what is left of the traces of evil, strive properly for the sake of Allah. O Slaves of Allah, sell your souls to please Him, as He has made you His slaves.

Victory comes only from Allah

Beware lest the devil causes you to slip, and beware of transgressing the limits and thinking that this victory only came about because of your sharp swords, fine horses and steadfastness in battle. No, by Allah,

And victory is not but from Allah. Indeed, Allah is Exalted in Might and Wise *(Qur'an 8:10)*

Keeping away from sin

Beware, O slaves of Allah, after Allah has honored you with this great conquest and immense blessing, and singled you out for this clear conquest and caused you to hold fast to this rope which He held out to you, lest you commit any major sin that He has prohibited, or do any grave act of disobedience, then you would be like her who undoes the thread which she has spun, after it has become strong *(Qur'an 16:92),* or like the one to whom We gave Our signs, but he threw them away; so Satan followed him up, and he became of those who went astray *(Qur'an 7: 175).*

Call for continuation of the jihad

Jihad is the best of your acts of worship and the noblest of your traditions. Support Allah's cause and He will cause you to prevail; remember Allah and He will remember you; give thanks to Allah and He will increase your blessing and show appreciation to you. Strive hard to put an end to this problem and finish off the enemy, purify the rest of the land that has angered Allah and His Messenger; chop off the branches of disbelief and uproot it entirely. The time for Islamic vengeance and supporting the Ummah of Muhammad (SAW) is overdue. Allah is Great; it is the victory of Allah. Allah will prevail, and humiliate and subdue those who disbelieve.

Call to liberate the rest of the holy land

Remember, may Allah have mercy on you that this is an opportunity, so make the most of it; it is a gain, so seize it; it is a mission so strive hard for it and strengthen your resolve. Matters are judged by how they end. Allah has given you the upper hand against this defeated enemy although they are equal or superior to you in numbers, so how about when you are outnumbered by them by twenty to one?

Allah Says:

If there are among you twenty [who are] steadfast, they will overcome two hundred. (Qur'an 8: 65)

May Allah help us and you to follow His commands and heed His prohibitions; may He help all the Muslims with victory from Him:

If Allah should aid you, no one can overcome you; and if He should forsake you, who is there that can aid you after Him? ***(Qur'an 3: 160)***

Supplications for Sultan Salah ad-Deen and the Muslims in their religious and worldly affairs

The end of the second part of the khutbah was similar to what is usually said. After praying for the caliph, he said:

> O Allah, grant long life to the sultan, your slave, who submitted himself to your majesty, who is grateful for your blessing, who acknowledges your gifts. He is Your cutting sword, Your shining star, the defender of Your faith, the defender of Your sanctuary, the noble master, the victorious king, the uniter of the believers, the subduer of the worshippers of the cross, ***Salah ad-Dunya wad-Deen,***[210] the sultan of Islam and the Muslims, the purifier of the sacred House, Abul-Muzaffar, Yoosuf ibn Ayub, the reviver of the state of the Commanders of the Faithful.

O Allah, cause his state to reach everywhere on earth, cause the angels to surround his banners, reward him with the best of rewards on behalf of Islam, and reward him on behalf of the Ummah for his resolve.

O Allah, preserve Islam, protect faith and cause it to spread east and west.

O Allah, as You have brought about victory in Jerusalem at his hand after the people had despaired and the believers were sorely tested, cause him to prevail throughout the Land and to defeat all the disbelievers, so that no battalion of disbelievers will meet him but he will destroy them, no group will meet him but he will scatter them.

O Allah, thank him on behalf of Muhammad (SAW) and cause his authority to expand east and west. O Allah let him be the cause of justice spreading throughout the land.

O Allah, humiliate the disbelievers and immoral people through him and grant him domination over all countries; cause his troops to be victorious throughout the land.

O Allah, keep authority in his hands and those of his offspring until the Day of Judgment; protect his sons and the sons of his father, the blessed kings; support him by means of them and honour those who are loyal to him and to them.

O Allah, as You have brought about at his hands this blessing for Islam, that will remain and abide for months and years, grant him the eternal blessing that does not fade away in the abode of the pious, and answer his prayer:

My Lord, enable me to be grateful for Your favor which You have bestowed upon me and upon my parents, and to do righteousness of which You approve, and admit me by Your Mercy into [the ranks of] Your righteous servants.

(Qur'an 27: 19)

Then he offered supplications in the customary manner.[211]

After the prayer, Shaykh Zayn ad-Deen Abul-Hasan 'Ali ibn Naja al-Masri sat on the preacher's chair with the sultan's permission and exhorted the people to right conduct. It was a great time and a blessed gathering, to Allah is due all praise. Al-Qadi Muhiy ad-Deen ibn az-Zaki delivered the khutbah to the people on Fridays for four weeks, then the sultan appointed a permanent khateeb for Jerusalem and sent word to Aleppo to bring the minbar that al-Malik al-Adil Noor ad-Deen Mahmood had ordered to be built for Bayt al-Maqdis; he had hoped that it would be conquered at his hands, but it was to be conquered at the hands of one of his followers after his death.[212]

The minbar of Noor ad-Deen in Jerusalem

Al-Malik al-'Adil Noor ad-Deen Mahmood Zangi (may Allah have mercy on him) knew by his insight that the Conquest of Jerusalem would occur after he was gone. So in Aleppo he issued orders that a minbar be made for al-Quds, and the carpenters, craftsmen and engineers put a lot of effort over several years into making it, adorning it in a most creative and finely-crafted manner; thousands were spent on the production of this magnificent piece, which was checked upon and improved thousands of times. This minbar was kept in the Jami' mosque of Aleppo, like a sword kept in its sheath, until the sultan issued orders to fulfill the vow of Noor ad-Deen and the minbar was transported to its place in al-Quds, thus confirming the miracle of Noor ad-Deen that shone for many years after his death. He was one of the doers of good of whom Allah says:

A**nd Allah loves the doers of good** ***(Qur'an 3: 134)***[213]

According to the account of 'Imad ad-Deen al-Isfahani:

> Noor ad-Deen's heart was filled with the light of faith and his piety set an example for the righteous to follow; he was the most ascetic of worshippers and the most devoted in worship of ascetics, one of the chosen, pious, righteous friends of Allah. By means of his intuition he saw that victory was close, and that Allah would answer his supplication, even if that came after his death. His strong resolve made him strive even harder and brought him divine support. Allah purified him of faults. Allah lifted him above any doubt or suspicion because of his purity of heart. The blessing of his efforts continued to support Islam after his death, which culminated in Salah ad-Deen gaining control over his kingdom after he was gone. He [Noor ad-Deen] was the one who raised him [Salah ad-Deen], taught him, loved him and favoured him; he is the one who set the precedent of jihad and conquest, and set out the route to success. It so happened that the Jami' mosque in Aleppo burned down at the time of Noor ad-Deen, and a minbar was needed. So that minbar (which had been made for al-Quds) was set up, and what a beautiful sight it was! Then the carpenters started working on the prayer niche, to make it match the minbar in design. Anyone who sees the mosque of Aleppo today will see that it is similar to the minbar of Jerusalem. When the sultan conquered Jerusalem, he ordered that the minbar be brought, and it was carried to al-Masjid al-Aqsa. Thus the honor of Allah was made manifest by causing Islam to prevail. Everyone joined in the supplications, praying for mercy for Noor ad-Deen and for victory and blessing for Salah ad-Deen.[214]

This action is indicative of the extent of Salah ad-Deen's sincerity towards Noor ad-Deen Mahmood Zangi, who did a great deal to achieve Muslim unity, paving the way for the eradication of the Crusader presence in Greater Syria. It also indicates that when Salah ad-Deen put an end to the Zangid state which had become very weak and declined after the death of Noor ad-Deen Mahmood and the appointment of his

young son al-Malik as-Salih Isma'eel, the aim was only to continue the preparations for jihad against the Crusaders, in order to remove them and take back Jerusalem.[215]

Salah ad-Deen restores Jerusalem

Salah ad-Deen removed the buildings and walls that the Crusaders had introduced in the sanctuary of Jerusalem. The Templars had built houses and dwellings along the west side of al-Masjid al-Aqsa, and had incorporated part of the mosque into their buildings. They had built a wall across the front of the prayer niche and used it for storage or, it was said, they used it as a place for relieving themselves, intending that as an insult to Islam and the Muslims.[216] Over the Rock in Jerusalem they built a church, which they filled with images and icons. They set up an altar on the Rock, and allocated spaces there for monks. On top of the Dome of the Rock they set up a large cross, and did other things that changed its features. The greedy ones among them cut pieces from the Rock and sold them in the markets of Constantinople and Sicily for their weight in gold.[217]

On the first Friday of Sha'ban 583 AH/ 9 October 1187 CE, which was a week after the Friday on which the Muslims had entered Jerusalem, Salah ad-Deen issued orders to remove any and all buildings and walls the Crusaders had constructed. The wall blocking the prayer niche was to be removed. He also ordered that the structures and images that they had introduced on the scared Dome be removed. Then he ordered al-Faqeeh Diya' ad-Deen al-Hakari to be in charge of that and to surround it with iron windows.[218] With regard to the golden cross that the Crusaders had set up on the Dome of the Rock, Ibn Wasil states that as soon as the Muslims entered the city, a group of them climbed up the Dome and removed the cross which fell, whereupon all the people shouted as one, inside and outside the city, Muslims and Franks alike. As for the Muslims, they shouted "Allahu Akbar!" with joy, whereas the Franks cried out in anguish and sorrow.[219]

When Salah ad-Deen finished removing everything the Crusaders had introduced in Jerusalem, he began to refurbish al-Masjid al-Aqsa, putting a great deal of effort into beautifying it and making its inscriptions precise. He brought marble of unparalleled splendor, and gems from Constantinople, and other materials for adornment which defy description. He began to refurbish and adorn it, removing the images and statues that were on its walls.[220] Salah ad-Deen paid particular attention to the prayer niche, adorning it with marble.[221] The sultan spread carpets in al-Masjid al-Aqsa, making it a place devoted for worshippers, cleansing it of filth and sweeping away all dirt from in and around it.[222]

Al-Malik al-Muzaffar Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar brought to the Dome of the Rock large amounts of rosewater; he himself took charge of sweeping its length and breadth, then he washed it with water several times until it was purified, and he poured rosewater over it. He cleaned and purified its walls, and he perfumed it with incense. Al-Malik al-Afdal Noor ad-Deen ʿAli ibn Salah ad-Deen came along with dignity and honor and furnished it with fine carpets.[223] The Muslims cleaned the mosque and furnished it with reed mats, hung up lamps and spread carpets.[214] After Salah ad-Deen had finished purifying Bayt al-Maqdis of the Crusader relics, he appointed sermon-givers, imams, muezzins and caretakers for al-Masjid al-Aqsa, the Dome of the Rock and other mosques in Jerusalem, and brought copies of the Qur'an and the wooden boxes in which they were kept. Salah ad-Deen also set up schools and ribats. He turned a church into a school for Shafi'i scholars, allocated the house of the Patriarch as a ribat for the poor, and set up great endowments to support it.[225] Salah ad-Deen's recapture of Jerusalem from the clutches of the Crusaders was so important for Salah ad-Deen and his status among the Muslim heroes that it may be said that the Rightly-Guided Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khattab (RA) rescued Jerusalem from Byzantine clutches in 15 AH, and Salah ad-Deen revisited this achievement in the sixth century AH, after Jerusalem had been subjected to Crusader aggression which lasted for nearly a hundred years. By means of this great action, Salah ad-Deen laid the

foundation for the Muslim sultans who came after him to finish off the rest of the Crusaders in Greater Syria.[226]

Sending glad tidings and delegations throughout the Muslim world

By recapturing Jerusalem, Salah ad-Deen reached the pinnacle of political and military glory. News of this incident began to spread throughout the Muslim world. Salah ad-Deen hastened to send the glad tidings of the recapture of Jerusalem to the 'Abbasid caliph in Baghdad and to various Muslim emirs and rulers. Abu Shamah, quoted from al-'Imad al-Isfahani, who was not present during the conquest because he was sick, that when he heard news in Damascus of the sultan Salah ad-Deen's victory in Jerusalem, he recovered from his sickness and went to him, reaching him on the second Saturday after the conquest. Al-Isfahani described the incident:

> I arrived in the morning, and he was so happy to see me that he gave a gift to the one who told him of my arrival even before he saw me. His companions were asking him for letters giving the glad tidings so that they could take them everywhere, west and east and he was telling them, "There is a man for this mission." So on that day I wrote seventy letters, each letter telling the glad tidings in an eloquent manner. Among them was the letter to the caliph's embassy in Baghdad, which I began with this verse:

{Allah has promised those who have believed among you and done righteous deeds, that He will surely grant them succession [to authority] upon the earth, just as He granted it to those before them, and that He will surely establish for them their religion which He has preferred for them [Islam] and that He will surely substitute for them, after their fear, security.} ***(Qur'an 24: 55)***

He also sent word to the Byzantine Emperor Isaac II Angelos, telling him the glad tidings of that great victory.[227] Salah ad-Deen received letters and delegations from Muslim kings and emirs, including the Seljuks of Rum, Khorasan and Iraq, congratulating him for the great victory for which Allah had singled him out.[228] When the Muslims heard of the recapture of Jerusalem, they came to visit it 'from every deep mountain pass', coming via all routes. They assumed their ihram from Jerusalem to visit the Ancient House (the Ka'bah in Makkah).[229] Salah ad-Deen sat in his tent outside Jerusalem to meet prominent figures, emirs and scholars who came to him from all over and to visit Bayt al-Maqdis, and congratulate him for the unique blessing that Allah had bestowed upon him, namely the recapture of Jerusalem from the Crusaders.[230]

Salah ad-Deen' s differences with the Abbasid caliph

Salah ad-Deen had some problems with the caliph an-Nasir, a caliph of strong character who cared about outward appearances and titles more than anything else. That is because despite the fact that when he became caliph he gave full authority to Salah ad-Deen, after a while he sent him a letter via his vizier rebuking him for some things he had heard about him.[231] Ibn Katheer summed up the differences between the caliph an-Nasir and the sultan Salah ad-Deen:

> …The caliph wrote to him and rebuked him for several things: he sent the glad tidings of victory at Hattin with a young Baghdadi man who was of lowly status in their eyes, and had no standing; he sent news of the Conquest of Jerusalem with a courier and called himself al-Malik an-Nasir, as if competing with the caliph an-Nasir.
>
> Salah ad-Deen met the envoy with a kind and cheerful attitude and expressed nothing but his willingness to hear and obey, and he sent word apologizing for what had happened, stating that war had distracted him from taking his time

in many matters. As for his using the title of an-Nasir, it stemmed from the days of the caliph al-Mustadi', but nevertheless, whatever title the caliph gave him, he would choose nothing but it, and he was extremely polite towards the caliph, may Allah have mercy on him.[232]

Presence of the scholars in Salah ad-Deen' s conquests

The scholars and jurisprudents were with Salah ad-Deen and he received full support from them. Salah ad-Deen had begun his conquests after Hattin with the conquest of Acre on Friday 2 Jumada II 583 AH/1187 CE, because it was on the route to Jerusalem on the one hand, and so that, by conquering it, he could be certain of cutting off the reinforcements and supplies that came through it from Europe to the Crusaders in Jerusalem on the other hand. A number of scholars took part in this conquest, foremost among whom were Al Qadi al-Fadil, al-Faqeeh Jamal ad-Deen 'Abd al-Lateef ibn ash-Shaykh Abi an-Najeeb as-Sahrawardi and al-Faqeeh Diya' ad-Deen 'Eesa al-Hakari. After Salah ad-Deen had completed the conquest of the city of Acre, Al Qadi al-Fadil turned its largest church into a congregational mosque and ordered that the qiblah and minbar be built, and Friday prayers were established there. Ibn al-Atheer mentioned in this regard that it was the first Friday prayer to be established on the Syrian coast after the Franks had taken over it.[233] At that time, al-Faqeeh Jamal ad-Deen 'Abd al-Lateef ibn ash-Shaykh Abi an-Najeeb as-Sahrawardi took charge of the khutbah and imams, then Salah ad-Deen appointed him after that to be in charge of all positions of sermon-givers, judges, endowments, and those responsible for checking on standards in the marketplace in the city of Acre.[234]

Al-Faqeeh 'Eesa al-Hakari had been with Salah ad-Deen during his campaigns and conquests. Hence after the conquest of Acre, the sultan allocated to him all the houses, Land and other places that had belonged to the Knights Templar.

He took them, with all the produce and property that they contained, as a token of appreciation and an acknowledgement of his status and his participation in the jihad with the Muslims, as well as an encouragement to continue striving hard and taking part in this duty.[235] This action on Salah ad-Deen's part was unique and unprecedented; this gift was something other than the wealth of war booty that Salah ad-Deen distributed to the mujahideen and that the Muslims acquired as the result of this conquest. The Islamic sources are agreed that a large number of scholars took part with Salah ad-Deen in the Conquest of Jerusalem, as was stated by the historians. Scholars came to him from Egypt and Syria, and no one who was known stayed behind or failed to come.[236] Shaykh Abu 'Umar ibn Qudamah al-Maqdisi and his brother Shaykh Muwaffaq ad-Deen ibn Qudamah were among those who took part in this conquest; they were famous, virtuous scholars.[237] Ibn al-Atheer noted:

> He and his brother, along with their maternal cousin al-Hafidh 'Abd al-Ghani and his brother Shaykh al-Imad, never stayed behind from any campaign in which Al-Malikal-Malik Salah ad-Deen set out for Frankish territory. They were present with him at the Conquest of Jerusalem and the coast and elsewhere.[238]

In the midst of his joy at this great conquest, Salah ad-Deen did not forget his vizier and consultant, Al Qadi al-Fadil, whose sickness had prevented him from being present at the Conquest of Jerusalem and who was staying in Damascus. Salah ad-Deen sent a letter to him with the glad tidings of his conquest. From the words of this letter we can clearly see the extent of Salah ad-Deen's love and appreciation for this noble judge and how he wished that he could have been present at that time. Then his joy at the blessing of victory that Allah had bestowed upon him would have been complete.[239]

After Allah blessed Salah ad-Deen with the Conquest of Jerusalem on Friday 27 Rajab 583 AH/October 1187 CE, he shared out the wealth that had been taken from the Crusaders to ransom themselves among the emirs, scholars and

jurisprudents who had been present with him during this conquest. The amount was over three hundred thousand dinars.[240] Then he sat in his tent outside Jerusalem in a humble and dignified manner among the scholars, to receive congratulations after this great conquest.[241] The poets among the scholars offered their congratulations to Salah ad-Deen for this great conquest in odes in which they expressed the extent of their happiness at this clear victory. Among them was the famous poet Al Qadi Ibn Sana' al-Mulk.[242] It is worth mentioning that Al Qadi al-Fadil and Al-Qadi Muhiy ad-Deen az-Zaki were among the elite scholars who had predicted and were optimistic about the Conquest of Jerusalem by the Muslims, and they had sent word to Salah ad-Deen giving him these glad tidings. This is mentioned in the ode that Ibn az-Zaki composed on the occasion of Salah ad-Deen's successful annexation of Aleppo into the united Islamic front in 579 AH/1183 CE, when he said:

Your conquest of Aleppo by the sword in Safar

is like glad tidings of conquering Jerusalem in Rajab.

This line of verse is regarded as one of the most amazing coincidences and as a kind of optimism expressed by Al Qadi Ibn az-Zaki, in which he foretold the Conquest of Jerusalem in Rajab. Allah willed that Jerusalem should be conquered in Rajab 583 AH, four years after these glad tidings were spoken. Perhaps these good words in which the Conquest of Jerusalem was foretold, were a motivation and inspiration to Salah ad-Deen to strive hard to conquer Jerusalem in that blessed time, which happened to be the date of the Prophet (SAW) Night Journey from Makah to Jerusalem and ascent from there into the heavens.[243] The Sultan Salah ad-Deen appointed Al Qadi Muhiy ad-Deen ibn az-Zaki to deliver the Friday khutbah in al-Masjid al-Aqsa as an honor to him in return for this line of poetry in which he had praised Salah ad-Deen for his conquest of Aleppo, and in which he foretold the conquest of Jerusalem in Rajab, but also because of his status and that of his scholarly family, his strict adherence to the truth, and his many accomplishments in fiqh and

literature, in addition to the fact that he enjoyed a unique talent in eloquence and composition of speeches and motivating his listeners.[244]

Thus it becomes clear to us the importance of the role played by the scholars in the Conquest of Jerusalem, as they joined the ranks of the mujahideen as volunteers, motivated by religious fervor. They came from all places and took up arms behind Salah ad-Deen to liberate Jerusalem, motivated by their hope of victory or martyrdom, and Allah crowned their efforts with victory and the return of Jerusalem-Masjid al-Aqsa to the Muslims. Their role did not end after that; rather, this conquest was a strong motivation and raised their morale. This is what we see in the khutbah of Al Qadi Ibn az-Zaki which urged the Muslims to continue in the path of jihad until the Muslim lands were completely cleansed of the enemy's dross. We also see that in the exhortation of al-Faqeeh Ibn Naja.[245] Another of the great works undertaken by the scholars in Jerusalem after the conquest was what al-Faqeeh Diya' ad-Deen 'Eesa al-Hakari did: he made iron grilles to be placed over the windows for the Dome of the Rock to protect it from any tampering, after the sultan Salah ad-Deen had removed the icons, images and crosses that the Crusaders had installed around it.[246]

Siege of Tyre

In 583 AH/1187 CE, Salah ad-Deen achieved great victories against the Crusaders. He took control of most parts of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, apart from the city of Tyre which the Muslim historians described as a fortified city stretching out into the sea as if it were a ship, with no route to and except one road which had seven towers.[247] In addition to that it had strong walls and high towers and was filled with Crusaders who had fled to it because of the safe passage that Salah ad-Deen had granted to the Crusaders in return for handing over their cities to him.[248]

Although the Crusaders had lost most of their leaders and commanders in their battles with Salah ad-Deen, as they were either slain or fell captive, some new, competent leaders appeared among them who took charge of their affairs, especially Conrad de Montferrat,[249] whom Ibn Shaddad described as a great and wise man, strict in adherence to his religion and very tough.[250] Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi described him as courageous and determined.[251] This Conrad, or 'the Marquis', as the Arabic sources call him, became the leader of the Crusaders. The princes and knights inside the city agreed to rally behind the banner of Conrad and recognize him as their leader, in return for his pledge to defend them and protect them against Muslim attacks. A decision was also reached to reject the conditions offered by Salah ad-Deen during negotiations. He quickly sent delegations to request reinforcements and help from Western Europe and he shouldered the burden of defending what was left of the Crusader entities in Greater Syria until the Third Crusade arrived.[252]

Salah ad-Deen was forced to lift the first siege of Tyre before conquering Jerusalem, and Conrad worked to strengthen its fortifications and prepare it for the expected battle. He dug a moat on the eastern side, which was the only side that connected the city to the land, so the city became like an island, and he fortified its walls.[253] When Salah ad-Deen came back to besiege it again on 22 Ramadan/ November, he began the siege by bombarding the walls of the city with mangonels. The Muslims used different types of weapons to breach the walls, but to no avail. The city managed to withstand the Muslim strikes and attacks on Land and sea, at which point Salah ad-Deen resorted to political means to persuade Conrad to surrender, because his father William III was a prisoner of Salah ad-Deen, so he tried to use him to influence Conrad, threatening to execute him. However, this attempt failed due to Conrad's stubbornness, as he responded by saying that he would prefer the slaughter of himself and his father to handing over any part of the city. As a result of these political and military developments, Salah ad-Deen was forced to lift the siege of Tyre at the end of Shawwal 583 AH/beginning of January 1188 CE. That was the first

failure he had experienced in his military operations against the Crusaders since the Battle of Hattin.[254]

A number of factors together prompted Salah ad-Deen to lift the siege on Tyre, the most important of which were:

- The psychological condition of the Ayubid army had become very critical after facing difficulty in conquering the city; some of his commanders suggested that the troops needed to rest.
- The rich emirs and sponsors of the army suggested lifting the siege from Tyre because they were afraid that Salah ad-Deen would borrow from them to spend on the army if the siege continued, at a time when Salah ad-Deen supported the view of some of his other commanders, which was that the army should continue the siege of Tyre and borrow money from the rich. But the latter insisted on lifting the siege.
- Tyre became open to the sea after the naval blockade imposed by the Egyptian fleet failed, so food supplies and weapons continued to come to the city.
- Salah ad-Deen had been lenient towards the Crusaders of the conquered cities, and his allowing them to gather in Tyre had raised their morale, so they got together to defend the city.
- Natural factors also played a role in the failure of the siege, as winter was very rainy and cold that year, and sickness broke out in the Ayubid camp.[255]

The Muslim historians expressed profound regret for Salah ad-Deen's failure to conquer Tyre. The historian Ibn al-Atheer, who is known for his critical bias against Salah ad-Deen, held Salah ad-Deen responsible for what happened to the Muslims at Tyre, and said that no one was to blame with regard to Tyre except Salah ad-Deen, for he had facilitated the gathering of Crusaders there and supplied them with men and wealth from the people of Acre, Ascalon, Jerusalem and elsewhere, because he was too lenient and tolerant towards the Crusaders.[256] Sibt ibn al-Jawzi thought that Salah

ad-Deen had wasted an opportunity for the Muslims by transferring the Crusaders to Tyre without taking the consequences into account; he should have presented Islam to them, and executed any who did not accept it. He also likened these events to what had happened in the battles of Badr and Uhud. It seems that Ibn al-Atheer may have been biased against Salah ad-Deen because he was a supporter of the Zangids and he had not forgotten that Salah ad-Deen had put an end to their rule in Syria; it is not unlikely that Sibt ibn al-Jawzi was influenced by Ibn al-Atheer in that regard.[257]

In fact, the plan that Salah ad-Deen followed with regard to the Crusaders was based on guaranteeing their safety in return for their handing over the cities and fortresses to him, which gave Salah ad-Deen the opportunity to capture most of the Kingdom of Jerusalem within a few months, apart from a few places, among which was the city of Tyre. Salah ad-Deen had no choice but to follow this plan, because if he had tried to capture the cities of the Kingdom of Jerusalem by means of force and perseverance, the fighting would have gone on for a long time. This is in addition to the fact that he followed a policy of handovers in return for safety, in accordance with the tolerant nature of Islam.[258] Throughout his wars Salah ad-Deen behaved as if he was trying, with full awareness, to make himself acceptable to his future subjects and to lay the foundations of a state in which the two religions could live side by side under his authority. Salah ad-Deen's aim was to crush the political power of the Crusaders, not to wipe out the Christians.[259]

Salah ad-Deen's conduct, which was based on the teachings of Islam, had an impact on the politicians and people of Europe, because of what they saw of his generous pardons and noble tolerance. He was a good example for people[260] and presented a positive image of Islam with his noble character and his sword. This is what made Churchill Say concerning him, "He was one of the greatest kings of this world. It also prompted the English writer H. Rider Haggard to say that he was "the greatest man on the face of the earth."[261]

Completion of conquests

Conquest of Kerak and Crac de Montreal

Stephanie, the Lady of Outrejourdain (Transjordan), which was adjacent to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, was one of the prisoners ransomed after the Conquest of Jerusalem. She asked Salah ad-Deen to release her son Humphrey, ruler of Toron (now Tibnin), and Salah ad-Deen agreed to her request, but he stipulated, in return, that she should handover the two great fortresses of Kerak and Crac de Montreal which belonged to this province. It seems that Stephanie agreed to Salah ad-Deen's condition, so he released her son, and at the same time she instructed the garrisons of the two fortresses to surrender, but they refused to do so, which prompted her to return her son to captivity. In return for this noble conduct, Salah ad-Deen responded with an act that was even nobler: he released her son after a few months. He then besieged the two fortresses. The siege of Kerak and Crac de Montreal lasted for more than a year, during which time the defenders were exposed to hunger and thirst, but they only surrendered after their supplies had run out and they had eaten their mounts, and they had begun to despair of any help reaching them that would enable them to persist. They persevered until there was no room left for patience, and surrendered in Rabee' 1 584 AH/ May 1188 CE.

Turning towards the north

After conquering the southern areas of Greater Syria and adding them to the other Muslim areas from Eilat and ‘Aqabah in the south to Beirut in the north, with the exception of Tyre, Salah ad-Deen then headed north to conquer regions under Crusader domination in the principalities of Tripoli and Antioch. Maymond III of Tripoli died of grief shortly after fleeing from the Battle of Hattin, leaving no children. He left instructions that he was to be succeeded by the eldest son of

Bohemond III of Antioch, but the latter needed his firstborn son by his side to defend the principality of Antioch.[262] Salah ad-Deen raided Baqee'ah after reinforcements came to him from Sinjar, and attacked Crac des Chevaliers, which was under the control of the Templers, in Rabee' II/June, but he was confronted with the strength of its fortifications, so he moved on to the coast of Tripoli and Antioch, and attacked Antartus in Jumada I/July and entered it, but the citadel held out against him, so he ordered that the city be set on fire and it was razed to the ground.[263]

He also besieged Fort Marqab, but it also resisted him, so he headed towards Baniyas, in the northernmost part of the principality of Tripoli, and conquered it, then he penetrated deep into the principality of Antioch, where the coastal citadel of Jablah surrendered to him, as did Latakia, which was the largest port in the principality of Antioch. The Crusaders abandoned it after they were unable to defend it. He conquered the citadel of Bak Isra'eel which was located on the road to Hamah, opposite Jablah.[264] After that, Salah ad-Deen turned towards the interior, taking with him his son adh-Dhahir Ghazi, ruler of Aleppo, and attacked the citadel of Zion, which belonged to the Hospitallers; he conquered it by force and the garrisons of Bakkas and Shaghar, which lay to the northwest on the Orontes River, surrendered to him, as did Sarmeen and Barziyah, which were the last citadels in the furthest point south of the Orontes.[265]

With these conquests, complete domination was achieved over all the front-line posts around the city of Antioch, and there was nothing left of the fortresses belonging to this principality apart from Baghras and Darbasak to the north, so Salah ad-Deen attacked them. Barbasak, which was located in the Amanus mountains[266] and belonged to the Templars, surrendered to him, as did the citadel of Baghras, which also belonged to the Templars and controlled the route that led from Antioch to Cilicia.[267] Thus the wings of the two principalities of Tripoli and Antioch were clipped, and there was nothing left but the cities of Tripoli and Antioch themselves, in addition to the port of Suwaydiyah. The Hospitallers held on to the fortresses of

Markab and Crac des Chevaliers, and the Templars held on to Antartus. As a result of the way the situation deteriorated in the Principality of Antioch, Bohemond III sought a truce with Salah ad-Deen, in which he acknowledged all his conquests. The Muslim troops had become exhausted as a result of the ongoing fighting, hence he agreed to this request and a truce was drawn up between them to last for eight months.[268] This truce allowed Salah ad-Deen to turn again towards the south, after he granted leave to part of his army. He attacked two forts belonging to the Templars in Safad and the Hospitallers in Kawkab, and conquered them in Shawwal and Dhul-Qa'dah 584 AH/December 1188 CE and January 1189 CE, respectively.[269]

"We were not created to stay in Damascus: we were created for worship and for jihad for the sake of Allah"

In Rabee' I of 584 AH, Salah ad-Deen entered Damascus after returning from one of his campaigns. The Muslims rejoiced, glad tidings were spread and the city was decorated. As-Safi ibn al-Qabid, the treasurer, had built a huge house in the citadel, facing south. Salah ad-Deen got angry with him and dismissed him from his post and said, "We were not created to stay in Damascus, rather we were created for worship and for jihad.[270] What you have done is something that discourages one and makes a person turn away from that for which he was created."[271]

The sound Islamic teaching which the Ummah learned from the Messenger of Allah (SWT) is that which dominated the movements and attitude of Salah ad-Deen and his choices in life. Hence he uttered these words that deserve to be written in letters of gold, "We were created only for worship and for jihad."

Before that, at Hattin, he said to his general staff, "Do not fight for my sake, rather for the sake of Allah.”

Tawheed had cleansed his heart of whatever was clinging to it of whims and desires, temptation and whispers from the devil. With his deep faith and precise understanding of his religion, he challenged the claims of the astrologers who warned him against conquering Jerusalem and had said to him, "Conquer Jerusalem and you will lose one of your eyes.” He had replied, "I would be content to conquer it and go blind.” Then he conquered it after it had been in the hands of the Franks for more than seventy years, [272] thus proving false the speculation of the astrologers. He listened only to the call of Allah and His Messenger (SAW) [273]

Death of Usamah ibn Munqidh

In 584 AH, the great emir and scholar, the knight of Syria, Majd ad-Deen Mu'ayyid ad-Dawlah Abul-Muzaffar Usamah ibn al-Ameer Murshid ibn 'Ali ibn Muqallid ibn Nasr ibn Munqidh al-Kinani ash-Shayzari died.[274] Adh-Dhahabi said: He lived for ninety-seven years and died in Damascus in Ramadan 584 AH. He wrote lines of poetry praising the sultan Salah ad-Deen.

Usamah ibn Munqidh lived a long life filled with achievements, righteous deeds, calamities and disasters. He witnessed the Crusaders' campaigns against Greater Syria and took part in the movement of jihad and martyrdom for the sake of liberating Muslim lands from western invaders in Shayzar and its environs under the banner of the Zangids. He took part in political life at times of both war and peace during the life of Zangi, and at the end of the Fatimid era, the foundations of which collapsed at the hand of an-Nasir Salah ad-Deen. With the death of Usamah ibn Munqidh, the final page of the history of the family of Munqidh in Syria was closed. Ibn al-'Adeem described him as a virtuous emir and a brave and knightly literary poet, who wrote numerous books, engaged in famous exploits and was of virtuous

character. Ibn Tagharri Burdi wrote, "He possessed deep knowledge of literature, writing and poetry, and was a wise and capable knight, who had memorized twenty thousand lines of verse from the times before Islam."[276]

Most important lessons

From studying the incidents outlined above, the researcher may discover a number of lessons which are applicable to our modern life, among which are:

The importance of the devoted scholars in reviving the Ummah

The Ummah is in the utmost need of those who can wake it from its slumber, bring it out of its ignorance and alert it to its negligence. Among the reasons for the great good that was achieved at the hands of Salah ad-Deen was the activity of the scholars in educating, teaching, directing and guiding. The most important role that awaits the devoted scholars is the purifying of the 'aqeedah of the coming generation from the false beliefs, myths and ideas of polytheism with which it has been contaminated; purifying the Sunnah from that with which it has been contaminated; purifying Islamic history from the confusion with which it is contaminated and making manifest the bright points in our history so that lessons may be drawn from them; purifying fiqh from the personal views and innovated matters with which it is contaminated; purifying the art of preaching from the stories from Jewish sources, myths and fairy tales with which it is contaminated; and raising the new generation in this manner. This is the foundation of reform that is needed to establish any revival. The scholars should direct educators to revise the curricula in order to raise the new generation with love for jihad and present them with the example of the great leaders of history who defeated the disbelievers, such as the rightly-guided caliphs, Abu 'Ubaydah, Mu'adh, Khalid ibn al-Waleed, al-Muthanna

ibn Harithah, Noor ad-Deen, Salah ad-Deen, Qutuz and Baybars; and to teach this new generation about the decisive battles of Islam and inspire them from an early age to love the idea of giving and sacrificing for their religion. The scholars must enjoin what is good and forbid what is evil; confront evil and the lack of resolve; and protect the Ummah from being tampered with by every follower of whims and desires. The scholars have to correct the deviation of the Ummah and its leaders, among whom there are tyrants, oppressors and suppressors, the low who are reluctant to rise, the lax who are reluctant to become serious, the wrongdoers who are reluctant to be just, the deviants who are reluctant to follow the straight path, those who denounce good and approve of evil. Jerusalem will never be taken back until after the devoted scholars lead the Ummah aright and guide its rulers to the path of good.[277]

Educating the new generation in the 'aqeedah of Ahl as-Sunnah wal-Jama'ah

Those who call people to Islam and aspire to liberate Jerusalem and al-Aqsa must raise the generation that is to achieve the hoped-for victory. They must raise it with the 'aqeedah of the Messenger and his Companions, and purify their beliefs of the false and corrupt notions, myths, ideas of polytheism and innovations with which they are contaminated. What beautiful words Imam Malik ibn Anas, the imam of Madinah, spoke when he said, "Nothing will be good for the last of this Ummah except that which was good for the first of them." How beautiful are the words of the one who said, "Establish the state of Islam in your hearts, then it will be established for you on earth." Jerusalem only fell at the hands of the Fatimids, who were followers of innovation and it was only lost when loyalty to Islam was lost and the Arab revolutionaries allied themselves with the British against the Muslim Turks. Jerusalem only fell (to the Zionists) after the people deviated from the straight path and the men in leading positions were the ones who sought to keep Islam out of the conflict. It is impossible for Jerusalem to be regained at the hands of those who revile

the Companions of the Messenger of Allah, denounce them as disbelievers and undermine the basic principles of this religion. They and their ilk are the daggers with which the Ummah was stabbed. Allah grants victory to those in whose hearts he knows there is sincerity, resolve, sound understanding, pure tawheed and loyalty (to Allah and His Messenger).[278]

Loyalty purely for the sake of Allah and His Messenger

The crux of the matter is that everyone in this Ummah, near and far, young and old, should express their disappointment in Jews and Christians because of their disbelief (in Allah's scriptures and His messengers), and express their disapproval of those who have stolen the land of Palestine. Their leaders' statements indicate that the conflict between us and them is religious in nature. For example, the U.S. Leaders' love and loyalty towards Israel is based on a purely religious and biblical foundation, as they venerate the Torah, the 'Old Testament', as much as they venerate the Gospel, the 'New Testament'. This establishment and protection of Israel is based on a religious commitment in England and America. Shame on the Ummah that handed over its affairs and those of its children, its resources and its land to its enemies! Shame on the Ummah that rejected its Islam and adopted the defective ideas of the Greeks and Romans! Shame on the rich who seek the help of others![279]

U.S. Presidents have spoken of what Israel means to them. The ***International Herald Tribune*** published a special report[280] which included the words of ten American presidents, over a period of fifty years from the establishment of Israel until the present, in which they affirmed their commitment to the security of Israel. This newspaper commented:

> Since achieving independence in 1948, Israel has occupied a special place in the hearts of Americans and in the hearts of America's presidents. In every

administration, the president has acknowledged the importance of Israel's security to the national interests of America.[281]

Bill Clinton said, "America and Israel share a special bond, a relationship that is unique among all other nations. As is the case in America, Israel enjoys a strong democracy, as a symbol of freedom. It is an oasis of independence, a refuge for the oppressed and persecuted."

George Bush: "For more than forty years, the United States and Israel have enjoyed friendship based on mutual respect and commitment to the principles of democracy. Our resumed search for peace begins in the Middle East, by understanding that the ties that bind our two countries cannot be undone."

Ronald Reagan: "Free men and women in Israel prove every day the strength of courage and faith. If we go back to 1949 [sic], the year when Israel was founded, some critics claimed that the new state could not survive. But now no one has any doubt that Israel is the land of stability and democracy in a region of tyranny and turmoil."

Jimmy Carter: "The survival of Israel is not just a political issue, rather it is a moral commitment. This is my profound belief of which I am certain. This is the belief which the overwhelming majority of the American people share with me. Strong and secure Israel is not just the concern of the Israelis; rather it is the concern of the United States and the entire free world.[282]

Gerald Ford: "My commitment to the security and future of Israel is based on fundamental principles. It is a personal interest, as an enlightened and educated man, as our role in supporting Israel is an honor to our national legacy.[283]

Richard Nixon: "The Americans are impressed by a people who cultivated the desert and turned it into a garden. The Israelis have proven, with evidence that is

acceptable to the Americans, that they have courage, patriotism, idealism and love of freedom. I have seen that and I believe in it.[284]

John Kennedy: "Israel was not created to disappear; it will survive and flourish. It is the offspring of security and the home and of courageous people. It will never be broken by lies or by the breaking of its morale. It carries the shield of democracy and the sword of freedom.[285]

Dwight Eisenhower: "Our forces have saved the remnants of the Jewish people in Europe for a new life, a new hope, in a new land. We support all men of sincere resolve. I salute the young state and wish it every success.[286]

Harry Truman: "I had faith in Israel before it was established, as I have faith in it now. I believe that it has a bright future ahead of it, not just as an independent nation, but as the embodiment of the great ideals of our civilization.[287]

Unity of the Ummah is founded on unity of belief

Allah Says:

Indeed, Allah loves those who fight in His cause in a row, as if they are a [single] structure. ***(Qur'an 61: 4)***

The united nation is stronger at times of combat than factions which come together, then scatter; which march, then stop, brought together by temporary interests. It is the decree of Allah in this life that when the Ummah is united on the basis of 'aqeedah, it is stronger and more powerful, even if its numbers are few. This can clearly be seen in the flow of history. What a difference there is between a venture that is motivated by whims and desires and human concepts, and a venture that is motivated by divine principles. What a difference there is between an Ummah whose course is enlightened by the religion of Allah and peoples whose whims and desires give them a little light, then it is extinguished. Engaging in a decisive battle

with the Rafidah alongside us does not help. Salah ad-Deen did away with the Fatimid state first, then after that he was able to liberate Jerusalem, after putting an end to Rafidi thought. History teaches us the role played by the Batinis and the Rafidi Shiites in betraying the Ummah, killing its mujahideen and placing obstacles in the way of the jihad against the Crusaders throughout Islamic history. In recent history, they formed an alliance with the United States at the expense of Afghanistan and Iraq, putting their sectarian interests above everything else. The followers of innovation are like scorpions which bury their heads and bodies in the sand, leaving only their tails exposed, and whenever they are able to, they sting. The followers of innovation are like that too: they hide among the people, then whenever they gain power, they take what they want.[288]

Islamic banner for the battle

The banner of Islam is our life and hope, our light and insight. It is the only banner for our coming battles. The Jews and Christians are fighting us on the basis of the Torah in a religious war, under the banners of the cross and the star, so we can only fight on the basis of the Qur'an. When they refer to the teachings of the Talmud, we should refer to Bukhari and Muslim; when they say, "We venerate Saturday," we should Say, "We venerate Friday"; when they Say, "the Temple Mount", we should Say, "al-Aqsa"; when they fight under the banner of Judaism and Christianity, we should fight under the banner of Islam.[289] Jamal Hamadan writes,

> Before Islam, the Arabs of Arabia were not a nation and they had no history; they were not even a nation without history, rather they were just a bunch of warring tribes, bent on mutual destruction, speaking many dialects and sometimes even different languages. They did not have any presence outside Arabia, and any history that they had was the matter of folklore, at best.[290] The Arabs came out of the desert and entered history by virtue of Islam, and they could not have achieved anything without it. For the Arabs, Islam was

not just a message from heaven, it was salvation from heaven.[291] Islam came to stay, and Islam came back to lead again.[292]

The banner of Noor ad-Deen and Salah ad-Deen in their battles was Islam, and the Muslim people, Arabs, Turks, Kurds, Persians and others, all rallied around that banner and achieved these brilliant victories.

A far-reaching Islamic strategy and the scholars who understood the situation

The liberation of Jerusalem at the hands of Salah ad-Deen teaches us that there is a specific course to be followed in order to liberate it once again, with its own aims and means, all of which are in accordance with Islamic teaching, but no progress can be made without a clear, detailed method which will allow the people involved to know what they want. Allah Says:

{And prepare against them whatever you are able of power and of steeds of war by which you may terrify the enemy of Allah and your enemy, and others besides them whom you do not know but whom Allah knows. And whatever you spend in the Cause of Allah will be fully repaid to you, and you will not be wronged.}

(Qur'an 8: 60)

So it is essential to clarify a number of matters

- Who is our enemy?
- How does each of our enemies think, and what are their potentials?
- What has each of our enemies prepared?
- Have we prepared ourselves to meet the challenges? How have our enemies succeeded in achieving their goals?

- Why have our enemies succeeded in tying the Ummah in chains and forcing it to submit to them; how have they stolen our holy places, land and resources, and mocked our beliefs?
- Why does the Ummah have such a careless attitude towards this serious danger which is threatening its existence?

The reason is to be found in the fact that this Ummah is ignorant of its religion and of the mission for which it was created and for which it was given power on earth. That resulted in corruption of beliefs, politics, conduct and morals, and the Ummah fell into doing haram things, consuming haram wealth, neglecting its obligations towards Allah and failing to understand properly the concept of loyalty (to Allah and to Islam) and disavowal (of His enemies and of disbelief).[293] The solution can come if we are sincere in our intention and turn to Allah. We can learn from historical experiences in order to prepare a long-term strategic plan to confront contemporary challenges,[294] a strategy that is based on the Islamic identity that we have lost. Allah (SWT) says:

And Say: Ours is] the religion of Allah [Islam] and who is better than Allah in [ordaining] religion? And we are His worshippers. ***(Qur'an 2: 138)***

Repentance of the Muslim Ummah, its turning back to Allah and its avoidance of sin

The support of Allah does not come to a nation that is promiscuous, heedless, and turns away from Allah and His Messenger. The support of Allah does not come to a nation that is sinking in the foul mire of sin and rebelling against the laws of its Lord, turning standards upside down and going against the divine laws. Rather His support comes to a nation that is patient and knows that it will only prevail against its enemy by virtue of its obedience to Allah and of its enemy's disobedience to Him, and knows that Allah has honored it with Islam; if it seeks glory in anything

else, Allah will humiliate it. So victory requires beseeching, earnest tears and turning humbly to Allah. Find out about how the Prophet (SAW) wept and prayed the night before Badr, the night before the Battle of the Confederates and all the battles of this Ummah.[295] Turning back to Allah is one of the means of major victory.

Jihad for the sake of Allah is the only way to take back Jerusalem

The only way to liberate the occupied lands is the way of jihad for the sake of Allah,[296] which represents the basis of our security and the pinnacle of our religion, and is one of the gates to paradise. It is a release from the earth's gravity which allows us to rise above the heavy burden of flesh and blood. The Ummah will not be able to protect its existence and its holy places except by means of the act of worship that is jihad for the sake of Allah; this act of worship that was performed by Noor ad-Deen and Salah ad-Deen was one of the factors that enabled them to confront the crusaders. Allah (SWT) Says:

O you who have believed! Shall I guide you to a transaction that will save you from a painful torment? [It is that] you believe in Allah and His Messenger, and strive in the Cause of Allah with your wealth and your lives. That is best for you, if you should know. He will forgive you your sins, and admit you to Gardens beneath which rivers flow, and pleasant dwellings in gardens of perpetual residence. That is the great attainment. And [you will obtain] another [favor] that you love: victory from Allah and an imminent conquest. And give good tidings to the believers. (Qur'an 61: 10-13)

Other lessons that we can learn are:

1) The importance of putting one's trust in Allah, relying on Him and having certain faith in His support for the believers;
2) Understanding and comprehending the laws of cause and effect ordained by Allah, such as the principle of changing what is in the heart, the natural conflicts that occur among people, and the law of Allah concerning the means of victory or defeat;
3) The moral means that lead to victory include faith in Allah, awareness of Him, the will for jihad, sincerity, trust in Him, patience, unity, consultation, remembrance of Allah, supplication, obedience, courage, steadfastness;
4) The material means that lead to victory include spending, preparing equipment and weapons, preparing the mujahideen militarily, planning, implementing the principles of war such as deciding on a goal and keeping it in mind, mobilizing the forces, moderation in using force and reserving it, taking the enemy by surprise, seeking the right time, flexibility, security, cooperation, pursuit; understanding the law of Allah which dictates that truth should prevail and falsehood should be vanquished;
5) Understanding the conflict between truth and falsehood;
6) Understanding the law of Allah which leads to the punishment of nations; and finally
7) Knowing the causes of divine punishment of nations by eliminating them: causes such as disbelief in Allah, denial of the Day of Recompense, attributing their polytheism and sin to the will of Allah on the basis of conjecture, harming the Messengers in various ways, disbelief of the nation after the coming of the signs that it asked for, its seeking to hasten the punishment, arguing on false grounds, being preoccupied with this world and forgetting the hereafter, extravagance and luxury, vanity, arrogance, deviousness, preventing people from going to the mosques, sinning, and so on.

CHAPTER III The Third Crusade and the Death of Salah ad-Deen

The Crusaders seek help from the West

Hardly had the fighting ended in Hattin and the Crusaders realized the extent of their losses, than they quickly sent messengers to Western Europe to tell the kings and princes of Europe what had befallen the Crusaders in the East. Those messengers were soon followed by other messengers, after the Conquest of Jerusalem. In fact, those losses and that conquest caused a violent reaction in western society, which panicked at the news of these two disasters. The Christians in the west believed that these events had come about because of their neglect and failure to respond to the repeated calls for help that had come from the Kingdom of Jerusalem in recent years. The crusaders who had gathered in the city of Tyre realized that unless help reached them from the west, the opportunities to keep Tyre would diminish after all hope was lost of regaining the areas that had been lost. Soon Conrad de Montferrat sent Joscius, archbishop of Tyre, to Western Europe in the middle of 583 AH/ the end of the summer of 1187 CE, to seek urgent help from the pope and the kings and princes of Europe. Joscius reached Sicily, where he met with its king, William II, who responded to this call after he was shocked by the news he heard from Joscius of the disasters that had befallen the Crusaders in the east. As he was at war with Byzantium, he made a peace deal with the Byzantine Emperor, Isaac II Angelos, in Muharram 584 AH/March 1188 CE, so that he could focus on the Crusader issue. Then he sent a fleet carrying several hundred knights to Tripoli under the leadership of the Sicilian admiral Margaritus of Brindisi, who succeeded in preventing Salah ad-Deen from conquering Tripoli.[297]

Then Joscius moved from Sicily to Rome, accompanied by a Sicilian delegation, to explain to Pope Urban III the Crusaders' situation in Greater Syria. He

could not bear the shock and died of grief on 14 Sha'ban 583 AH/ October 1187 CE. His successor, Gregory VIII, immediately hastened to contact the kings of England and France and the German Emperor, urging them to forget their differences and mobilize their forces to fight the Muslims. As Pope Gregory VIII died on 13 Shawwal/17 December, before he could see the fruits of his efforts, his successor, Clement III (583-587 AH/ 1187-1191 CE) hastened to contact the German emperor Frederick I Barbarossa and convinced him to take part in a Crusade that was heading for the east. This happened at the time when Joscius had headed to the west to meet the kings of France and England, Philip Augustus and Henry II. He met them in Gisors on the border between Normandy and France, and convinced them to forget the differences between them, which ran deep, and encouraged them to make a peace deal and join together in a Crusade. Despite that, they were slow to respond and the war between them resumed. Then Henry II, king of England, died in 585 AH/1189 CE, and was succeeded by his son Richard the Lionhearted, Duke of Poitou. He made a treaty with the French king and prepared to launch a joint campaign with him to the east.[298]

The role of the Christian clergy at times of crisis becomes clear from the actions of Joscius and the pope. Here we can learn an important lesson, which is that the scholars, jurisprudents, callers to Islam, thinkers, men of letters and politicians of our Ummah must go beyond the stage of feelings of sorrow and merely Saying ***La hawla wa la quwwata ilia Billah,*** 'There is no power nor might except with Allah', with regard to the calamities and disasters that befall the Ummah. They must strive persistently to do the right thing, that which is loved by Allah and His Messenger, using their leadership skills and ability to convince others, plan properly and present a vision of revival, and so on, in order to support the religion of Allah and confront the invaders.

The Crusaders came to Syria in large numbers, more than could be counted. This is indicated by a letter which was sent by Salah ad-Deen to the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad in 586 AH/1190 CE. In this letter he told the caliph:

> Islam is faced with people who like death, who have answered the call and left their loved ones and homelands, forsaking their families and homes; they have come on pilgrimage and have given their hearts and souls, doing all of that in obedience to their priests and in submission to the orders of their marquises.[299]

The Christians set out despite the differences in their groups and in their ethnicities; those who were unable to set out themselves equipped those who were able to travel by giving them their weapons and money.[300]

Women also came out and took part in the Third Crusade. Some of them came out to accompany the knights and guaranteed to provide all that they needed of food supplies and weapons. For example, Abu Shamah and others stated that in 585 AH/1189 CE, there arrived in Syria by sea a Christian woman of high status, who was accompanied by five hundred knights with their horses and followers. She had guaranteed to pay for everything that they needed, and they rode when she rode, charged when she charged, and jumped when she jumped.[301] Other women went out, wearing armor and dressed like men, to take part in the battles themselves, because they believed that this action of theirs was an act of worship.[302] Some of them went out to assist even strangers and give cheer to the Crusaders by offering themselves to them for physical pleasure for free, so that the fighters would not get bored or fed up.[303]

William II, King of Sicily, hastened to send a fleet in 585 AH/ 1189 CE which included sixty ships, on board which were ten thousand fighters. The fleet reached the city of Tyre, then went back to Tripoli and did not bring any benefit to the

Crusaders, because the food supplies they carried were not even enough for the men on board [304].

The German emperor on his way to the east

The kings and rulers of Western Europe overlooked the differences and grudges between them, and resolved to answer the pope's call to launch a Crusade to Syria. The first one to answer this call was Frederick Barbarossa, the German emperor.[305] In spring of 585 AH/1189 CE, the German armies started gathering at the city of Ratisbon (Regensburg) in preparation for the long march towards Syria. Despite its large numbers, that army maintained a precise military system: if anyone committed any offence, his punishment was none other than to be slaughtered "like a sheep."[306]

The army set out, led by Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who was accompanied by one of his sons, and followed the land route towards Constantinople, where they met with extreme hostility from the Byzantine Emperor Isaac II Angelos, who sent word to his ally Salah ad-Deen, informing him of the Germans' march and promising him that he would not let them cross his land. The sources state that the Byzantine Emperor could not prevent them from doing so, however, although he did not offer them any help in the form of food or equipment, so their supplies ran low. They crossed the Bosphorus, and their hardship grew even more severe.[307]

When they crossed into Asia Minor, they were faced with many problems because they did not know anything about those places. Hence they walked through valleys with no guide; it would take them two days to travel a single ***parasang*** [308]. They fell prey to kidnappings by the Turkmens who lived in the region. The onset of winter had a far-reaching effect on their march, as the snow accumulated, and they had to eat their mounts and burn their equipment, as they had no firewood with them, just as they had no fodder for their animals. They became exhausted, as did their

mounts, which could no longer carry their weapons. Thus they were forced to bury what they could not carry.[309] When they drew close to the Sultanate of the Seljuks of Rum, which was ruled by the Seljuk sultan Kilij Arslan ibn Mas'ood, his son Qutub ad-Deen Malikshah stood up to them, and engaged in a great battle with them in which they defeated him, so he retreated to the city of Konya, the capital of the sultanate. The Germans pursued him, entered the city and burned its markets. When they sent word to his father Arslan saying, "We have not come to take your land; rather we have come to take revenge for Jerusalem."[310]

They sent gifts to him and asked him for a truce, which he granted to them. Then he and his son sent word to Salah ad-Deen, apologizing for allowing the Germans into their Land and telling him that they had been forced to do that. The German army stayed in the land of Kilij Arslan for a while and amassed all the weapons and provisions they wanted, then they continued on their way.[311]

Ibn Shaddad and Abu Shamah indicate that there were ties of friendship between the sultan Kilij Arslan and the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and that when Kilij Arslan sent word to Salah ad-Deen apologizing for the German emperor crossing his land, he was only pretending to Salah ad-Deen that he was opposed to the German king; in fact he was secretly in agreement with him, sent guides with him, and gave him hostages to guarantee his safe passage.[312] Meanwhile, Ibn al-Atheer states that among the reasons that Kilij Arslan allowed the German king to cross his land was the state of weakness in which the country found itself because of internal problems resulting from having divided his kingdom among his sons.[313] In addition to that, Kilij Arslan was also in a weak position because of the alliance between his two opponents, Salah ad-Deen and the Byzantine emperor.[314] Whatever the case, the help that Kilij Arslan granted to Frederick Barbarossa did not benefit the German armies at all, because whilst they were crossing his land they were subject to many attacks, which angered the German king, so he seized the guides and hostages whom Kilij

Arslan had sent with him and put them in chains as captives after seizing their property.[315]

The Germans Enter Armenia

The Germans continued their march despite the severe difficulties they faced, until they reached Armenia, where they were welcomed by the ruler Ibn Lawin, who gave them all the food, provisions and fodder they needed, and showed them the easiest route.[316] The ruler of Armenia was hoping to be crowned king of Lesser Armenia, so that he would not appear to be of a lower status than the Crusader princes in Greater Syria on one hand, and so as to ward off the ambitions of the Byzantine emperor on the other hand. It seems that the Armenian ruler had pinned great hopes on both the pope and the German emperor in order to achieve this goal of his.[317]

Death of the German emperor

The Germans did not stay in the land of Ibn Lawin for long; rather they continued their march after he had shown them the way, and stopped in Tarsus.[318] The journey had exhausted them because of the hardships they had faced on the way, and they wanted to stay there for a few days in order to get some rest, but fate had something else in store for them. A sudden event turned all their plans upside down, when the emperor Frederick Barbarossa drowned in one of the rivers there. That occurred in 586 AH/10 November 1190 CE.

The historians differed as to the cause of his death. Al-Isfahani and Ibn Wasil said that when the Germans crossed the Salif River, a wave hit them, and the king looked for a place to cross by himself; he entered where the current was strong and was swept away, hitting a tree and receiving an injury to his head. They pulled him out as he was breathing his last and he died shortly afterwards.[319] Ibn Shaddad

and others indicate that Frederick Barbarossa stopped on the bank of a river and took a bath in the waters of that river; because the water was so cold, he became sick as a result and died a few days later.[320] Ibn al-Atheer states that Frederick went into the river to bathe, and drowned.[321] Whatever the case, what concerns us here is that the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa died without achieving his aim of taking part in recapturing Jerusalem from Salah ad-Deen. In addition to that, this unexpected event had a great impact on the failure of the Third Crusade, as a large part of the German army went back to Europe immediately after his death.[322] Moreover, with his death, the Crusaders lost a major figure who was sincere in his devotion to the Crusader venture; if he had reached Acre he could have caused a great deal of trouble for Salah ad-Deen.[323]

Scattering of the Germans after the death of their king

Following the death of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, many catastrophes befell the Germans. From the outset they differed as to who should succeed him as leader of the German Crusade. Some of them wanted to appoint his son, Frederick of Swabia, whilst others wanted to appoint Frederick of Swabia's older brother.[324] When the Armenian king saw the division and weakness in the ranks of the Germans after the death of Frederick Barbarossa, he decided not to deal with them anymore because he did not know how things would turn out — after all, they were Franks and he was Armenian. So he sought refuge from them in one of his fortified citadels.[325]

After the death of their king, the Germans dispersed. Some of them went back to Europe and some of them continued with the prince Frederick of Swabia, who had succeeded his father as commander of the German army. When the remnants of the campaign reached Antioch, they were struck by a severe epidemic to which many of their men fell victim; the rest of them staggered into Antioch as if they had been dug up from their graves, according to the historian Ibn al-Atheer.[326]

No sooner had the Germans arrived in Antioch than its ruler, Bohemond III, got annoyed with them and regarded them as a burden, and he wanted to take their wealth and weapons. He suggested to them that they should go to Aleppo, telling them that this was an easy route. Frederick of Swabia did not respond to Bohemond's suggestion; instead, he asked him to give him the citadel of Antioch so that he could store his possessions, treasure and supplies there. Bohemond agreed in the hope that he would be able to get his hands on the wealth and weapons that were to be deposited there, and he did indeed get what he wanted. When the Germans left Antioch they never came back, so Bohemond took possession of all that they had left there.[327]

At the same time, another group of Germans was faced with a different trial that had a great impact in weakening their morale. This German group headed towards Baghras, thinking that the castle was still in the hands of their fellow Crusaders. As soon as they reached it, the gates of the citadel opened and the Muslims attacked the Germans, seizing the property, weapons and supplies they had brought with them, and killing and capturing many of them. Some of the inhabitants of Aleppo also came out and spread out in the Germans' path, and began to ambush them. They captured a number of them whom they sold in the slave markets for low prices.[328]

This also demonstrates to us the extent to which Salah ad-Deen had managed to completely isolate the Crusaders in Greater Syria, after strengthening his grip on the cities of the coast. The Crusaders in the west were no longer able to distinguish between the cities and citadels that Salah ad-Deen had captured and those which were still in the hands of their fellow Crusaders in the east.[329] Finally, Frederick of Swabia decided, after all these calamities that had befallen his army, to head towards Acre. In Wednesday 25 Rajab 586 AH/August 1190 CE, he marched at the head of his army via Jablah and Latakia. The Muslims in Latakia took advantage of the passage of a small band of Germans; they went out and attacked them, killing

and capturing many of them. When the Germans reached Tripoli they stopped there to rest, and were struck by a severe epidemic from which most of them died. Only about a thousand of them were left, who travelled by sea, led by Frederick of Swabia, heading for Acre to join their fellows there and support them in their siege of the city. They reached Acre on 16 Ramadan 586 AH/October 1190 CE.[330]

Salah ad-Deen's attitude towards the German campaign

Salah ad-Deen did not ignore the issue of the German campaign after he learned that it was heading towards him. He mobilized the people for jihad and sent a messenger in Ramadan 585 AH/1189 CE, namely Al-Qadi Baha' ad-Deen ibn Shaddad, to the Abbasid caliph at that time, an-Nasir li Deen-Illah Abul-'Abbas Ahmad ibn al-Mustadi', informing him of the German march on Syria. Salah ad-Deen told Al Qadi Ibn Shaddad to go, en route to Baghdad, to the emirs of Mosul, Sinjar, Mesopotamia and Irbil, to summon them for jihad. They responded to that call and prepared to march to join Salah ad-Deen. The Abbasid caliph also promised to offer all help, and supplied Salah ad-Deen with money and equipment.[331]

At the same time, Salah ad-Deen kept track of the Germans' progress towards him by sending spies to find out about them. He also sent his deputies in Syria and their troops to find out about the enemy and intercept them. In one encounter, they came across a group of German soldiers who had gone out to look for fodder for their mounts, and killed and captured around five hundred of them.[332]

When Salah ad-Deen realized that the Germans had reached Armenia and were close to the Muslim lands, he gathered the emirs of his state and consulted them as to what he should do. They agreed that he should send a large army to confront the enemy on its way and to protect some of the cities. The Islamic groups set out, led by a number of Muslim emirs, and inflicted huge losses on the German enemy.[333] Salah ad-Deen also ordered that the walls of Tiberias, Jaffa, Arsuf, Caesarea, Sidon, and

Jubayl be demolished because he was afraid that the Crusaders would capture them and use these walls in fighting the Muslims.[334]

In the end, the German Crusade failed when its leader, the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa drowned in one of the rivers of Asia Minor, and the German masses scattered in Greater Syria, which prevented them from reaching Jerusalem and achieving their goal of taking it back from the Muslims. Finally, Frederick Barbarossa had hastened to set out for the east at the head of his Crusade, choosing the land route, whereas Philip Augustus, king of France, and Richard the Lionhearted, King of England, did not leave Western Europe on their Crusade until the summer of 586 AH/1190 CE, and they chose to go to Acre by sea.[335]

The Crusaders besiege Acre

The Franks who had gathered in Tyre had received a great deal of reinforcements in the form of men and weapons. More importantly, they had received promises from the pope that the kings of Europe were coming to save them. This is what made their resistance more vicious and violent against Salah ad-Deen when he came back to them. At the time when all of Europe was very enthusiastic about attacking the east and taking back Jerusalem, Salah ad-Deen was trying to conquer Tyre, where the spirit of resistance was embodied in the person of Count Conrad de Montferrat, who had ambitions of claiming the throne of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Hence, when Salah ad-Deen released Guy de Lusignan, the king of Jerusalem, from captivity, Conrad did not allow him to enter the city, so for six months he remained in the environs of Tripoli, in a camp far away from the city, gathering some forces around him so that he could stand up to the new leader, Montferrat. Then the two agreed to reconcile with the intention of working together to fight Salah ad-Deen, and to leave the decision concerning the throne to the papacy and the kings of Europe who were coming. Thus they decided to leave Tyre, which had become overcrowded with

Crusaders, and besiege Acre. Salah ad-Deen had delegated the matter of refortifying Acre and supplying it with arms and foodstuffs to his servant Baha' ad-Deen Qaraqoosh, who made the city, including its walls and citadels, into something splendid and strong. On Salah ad-Deen's orders, he had brought in fighters, and he had brought the Egyptian fleet to Acre's port. The Franks set out in Rajab 585 AH/August 1189 CE, and their ships sailed along, parallel to their course. Salah ad-Deen was not taken unawares by their arrival in Acre, because the Yazak (the scouts and guards) whom he had left in Tyre had alerted the garrison of Acre and told them to be ready. The Franks descended upon Acre from Land and sea, besieging it in huge numbers in Rajab 585 AH/August 1189 CE. Salah ad-Deen's idea was to fight the Franks whilst they were on the move towards Acre, because if they reached it, they would stay put. However, his commanders did not agree with the plan to fight them before they reached Acre, on the grounds that the route which the Franks were following was very rugged and narrow, and it was not easy to fight them there and destroy them in one go. Despite that, Salah ad-Deen set up ambushes for the Franks in the form of small bands of Bedouin who attacked them during their march, but they continued marching until they halted before Acre on Land and sea, and contact with the Muslim army there was lost. Salah ad-Deen had written letters summoning his troops who were dispersed in Antioch, Tripoli and Tyre, and along the coast of Egypt in Alexandria and Damietta with his brother al-'Adil; large numbers of them came. Then the troops of Greater Syria and Mesopotamia arrived, and with these troops he surrounded the Franks who were in turn surrounding Acre. Thus the Franks were caught between the garrison of the city and the troops of Salah ad-Deen.[336] Al-Isfahani commented:

> Later on, it became clear to us that the sultan's idea had been the better one, because fighting them when they had arrived proved to be more difficult. The Franks descended upon Acre and surrounded it on Land and sea. Regular battles took place with the Franks every day, with large engagements taking place on some days. One of the most important battles was that in which the

> Muslims wanted to bring reinforcements — men and supplies — into Acre, so they attacked the Franks, pushing them back from the walls, and brought in some commanders and a large number of troops who had come from Egypt to support them. In return, before the rest of the reinforcements arrived from Egypt, the Franks attacked the Muslims and defeated them at first, even reaching the camp of al-Malik al-'Adil and Salah ad-Deen's tent, killing the troops around it, but the sultan cried out in the camp, ***"Ya lil-Islam*** (for the sake of Islam)!"and counterattacked the Franks, who were defeated, hit by the arrows of the defenders of Acre who were behind them. Thus they scattered and retreated.[337]

Imad ad-Deen al-Isfahani confirms that the number of their slain in this battle ran into the thousands. This encounter was known as the Great Battle.[338]

Scholars who participated in the battle

Al-Faqeeh Diya' ad-Deen 'Eesa al-Hakari was in charge of the front of the core in the army of Salah ad-Deen.[339] Al-Qadi Baha' ad-Deen ibn Shaddad and al-Faqeeh Imad ad-Deen al-Isfahani also took part in this battle, which they described in precise detail as eyewitnesses,[340] without explaining the roles they played in it. Victory was on the side of the Muslims at the end of this battle, and the Crusaders incurred huge losses in lives; the estimate of numbers slain was ten thousand.[341] In this battle, al-Faqeeh Dhaheer ad-Deen al-Hakari, the brother of al-Faqeeh 'Eesa al-Hakari, who was the governor of Jerusalem, was martyred; he was a man who combined courage with knowledge and religious commitment.[342] When al-Faqeeh 'Eesa al-Hakari learned of his brother's martyrdom, he disapproved of people's condolences, saying, "This is a day for congratulations, not a day for commiseration."[343]

Also martyred in this battle was al-Faqeeh Abu 'Ali ibn Rawahah, close to the tent of Salah ad-Deen, along with a number of others. It seems that he had been among those who were defending the tent of Salah ad-Deen when a group of Crusaders rushed at the tent, aiming to kill the sultan.[344] Among the qadis who took part in the battle against the Crusaders who were besieging Acre in 586 AH/ 1192 CE was Al Qadi al-Murtada ibn Quraysh, who on many occasions joined the Muslims' attempts to lift the Crusader siege of Acre, but he was martyred on Friday 10 Jumada I 586 AH/ 1190 CE.[345]

Scholars' impact on the fighters' morale

The role of the jurisprudents during the Crusader siege of Acre during the Third Crusade was not limited to taking up arms and fighting the Crusaders in order to drive them away from Acre; they also went around among the soldiers in the Muslim camp, instilling courage in their hearts, reciting the Qur'an, warning the troops against fleeing, reminding them of the great reward Allah has prepared for the martyrs in paradise and quoting Qur'anic verses and hadiths to that effect, so as to raise their morale and increase their determination and steadfastness in jihad. This was true in all the battles and conquests that Salah ad-Deen engaged in.

Al-Qadi Baha' ad-Deen ibn Shaddad played a major role in this regard. When news reached Salah ad-Deen that the German Emperor Frederick Barbarossa had set out with his army, heading towards the east to save the Crusaders in Syria, that upset him and he decided to urge the people to engage in jihad and to inform the caliph of the day about that news.[346] So he delegated Al Qadi Baha' ad-Deen ibn Shaddad to go to the Abbasid caliph an-Nasir Abul-'Abbas Ahmad, and to all the ruling emirs, so that the caliph could play his part in encouraging and inciting the Muslims in various regions and lands to mobilize for jihad and help the Muslims in Greater Syria. Ubn Shaddad stated:

> He summoned me for that purpose and ordered me to go to the rulers of Sinjar, Mesopotamia, Mosul and Irbil, and call them and their troops to jihad. He ordered me to go to Baghdad to inform the caliph about that and urge him to help. I set out for that purpose on 11 Ramadan, and Allah made it easy for me to reach everyone and convey the message to them, and they responded marvelously. I came back to him (Salah ad-Deen) on Thursday 5 Rabee' 1 586 AH. I reached him ahead of the troops and told him that their response had been to hear and obey, and of their interest in coming, and he was happy with that and rejoiced greatly.[347]

It is clear that Salah ad-Deen had the ability to keep track of enemy movements and obtain precise information about them, so he had enough time to make preparations and arrange a general mobilization.

We may conclude from the words of Ibn Shaddad the critical nature of his mission to Baghdad, especially in those difficult circumstances when the Crusaders were threatening Acre and it had almost fallen into their hands. Hence Salah ad-Deen suggested to the caliph that he should come himself to encourage the Muslims, in return for Salah ad-Deen giving up all his territory to him.[348] However, the caliph was not keen to leave his palaces to live on the battlefield, so he did not respond to Salah ad-Deen's invitation. Instead, he sent him many loads of naphtha and sent him money with some merchants, which disappointed Salah ad-Deen.[349] The caliph should have been leading the conflict with the Crusaders, and been keen to engage in jihad, offering his life and his wealth for the sake of Allah, in an attempt to restore the role of the caliphate in the Ummah. This would have had a great impact on the morale of the mujahideen, as well as motivating all Muslims to take part in the campaign against the great Crusader invasion. We may also note Salah ad-Deen's greatness in scorning worldly gains and offering to give up all lands under his control to the caliph.

Salah ad-Deen holds a consultative meeting

After the end of the battle, Salah ad-Deen called for a consultative meeting which was attended by emirs and the men of wisdom, such as Al Qadi Ibn Shaddad and Imad ad-Deen al-Isfahani al-Katib, in order to discuss the situation in Acre. Salah ad-Deen gave a speech to them in which he said:

> In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the most Merciful. All praise is due to Allah and may His blessings be upon the Messenger of Allah. You should understand that this enemy of Allah's and of ours had come to our Land and set foot on Muslim land. But the signs of victory have begun to appear, Insha' Allah. There are a few of them (the Crusaders) left in this land, and we must do our utmost to uproot them. That is our duty towards Allah. You know that these are our troops and we cannot expect help from anyone else except al-Malik al-'Adil who is on his way. If this enemy survives and remains for long, until the sea is open for him, he will receive a great deal of reinforcements. The best idea, as I think, is to fight them. Let each of you state us his view on this matter.[350]

After a lengthy discussion, the members of the council were split into two groups. The first group supported the sultan in wanting to continue fighting before the enemy could regroup and receive reinforcements by sea, whilst the others suggested that the troops should go to Kharoobah[351] so that they could rest. The first group argued:

> The correct course of action is that we should err on the side of caution and send letters and envoys to all countries and write to all the Muslim rulers in Syria, because undoubtedly the Muslims will help and offer support, and they will not sit back. Then there will no longer be any need to wait; we will engage the enemy with our greater numbers and force, and we will start the fight with them before the sea is opened; we will persist in attacking them

> morning and evening until they are defeated. We will uproot them even if they are like mountains.[351]

The second group countered:

> We have not dismounted from our horses for fifty days, and we have not had enough sleep in all this time. Our mounts are exhausted and our swords are blunt. Now winter is coming and the enemy is very determined and cannot be defeated except by a large army; the flow of water cannot be stopped except by a bigger flow. The right idea is that we should wait out the winter and re-energize ourselves and our horses; we should withdraw from this place in order to achieve that which we think is in our best interests.

In the end, the opposing view prevailed, and Salah ad-Deen was forced to go along with it. The troops moved to Kharoobah on 4 Ramadan 585 AH/1189 CE, where al-Faqeeh 'Eesa al-Hakari fell sick with an illness that would lead to his death whilst he was accompanying Salah ad-Deen in preparation for his return to answer the call of jihad for the sake of Allah, as was his wont.[353] The departure of the sultan and his troops from Acre was a great opportunity for the Crusaders, who took advantage of it and intensified their siege around Acre, fortifying themselves and taking all necessary precautions to protect themselves against Salah ad-Deen.[354] This ultimately resulted in the loss of Acre after a siege that had lasted for two years, on 17 Jumada II 587 AH/12 July 1191 CE.[355]

Request for help from a king of the Maghreb

The king of the Maghrebi Almohad (Muwahhideen) faction, Abu Ya'qoob al-Mansoor ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min, was angry with Salah ad-Deen, because one of the Mamelukes of the latter's nephew, whose name was Qaraqoosh at-Taqwi, had attacked Birqah and Tripoli in Libya, then Tunis, and his master Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar

was hoping to establish a kingdom for himself there, but the venture failed.[356] Salah ad-Deen had sent to the king of the Maghreb a gift that included two copies of the Qur'an, one hundred dirhams' weight of balsam, twenty pounds of incense wood, six hundred of musk and amber, fifty Arabian bows with their strings, twenty Indian swords, and many decorated saddles.[357] With this gift, Salah ad-Deen sent an eloquent letter in which he said:

> Praise be to Allah Who has appointed over the Muslim nation those who spread prosperity in the Land and caused its people to be independent of means, and caused the supererogatory and the obligatory to be done through them (the rulers).

This letter opened with the words, "From Salah ad-Deen to the ruler of the Muslims ***(Ameer al-Muslimeen),*** " and at the beginning of it, it said, "The one who is in need of Allah, Yoosuf ibn Ayub"

As-Salawi stated that Abu Ya'qoob ibn Mansoor did not like being addressed by Salah ad-Deen as Ameer al-Muslimeen (ruler of the Muslims) and not as Ameer al-Mu'mineen (ruler of the believers), and he held that against him. Thus he honored Salah ad-Deen's envoy, without fulfilling any of his aims. It was reported that al-Mansoor nevertheless prepared to send one hundred and eighty ships, but what prevented their arrival was the Crusaders' capture of the Syrian coastal cities. Ibn Khaldoon[358] cited that as evidence for the superiority of the kings of the Maghreb over the kings of the Mashriq[359] in building jihad fleets.[360] What some historians mention about al-Mansoor al-Muwahhidi being annoyed by Salah ad-Deen's letter because he did not address him as Ameer al-Mu'mineen does not constitute the real reason for Ya'qoob al-Mansoor's not responding to Salah ad-Deen's call. Rather, the reason was that Ya'qoob al-Mansoor was always in a state of readiness to fight the Christians in Andalusia.[361] Moreover, there are some statements of the Almohads which indicate that they hoped to travel to the east and annex it to their state. Adh-

Dhahabi refers to the desire of the sultan al-Mansoor to head towards Egypt.[362] This wish was expressed clearly by the Almohad poet Abul-'Abbas ibn 'Abd as-Salam al-Jarawi in some of his poems, such as his words in praise of the Almohad caliph Ya'qoob ibn Mansoor:

His good fortune will help him

To annex Egypt to his kingdom
And he will go as far as Aleppo
And Iraq, and further, to the Hijaz,
And as far as Khorasan,
Where his army will wreak havoc...[363]

The Almohads were planning to invade the Muslim east and their first goal was Egypt. The Almohad ruler clearly stated his wish to invade Egypt and mentioned how widespread evils and innovations were in that land, and said, “We shall purify it, Insha'Allah.” That remained his intention until he died (may Allah have mercy on him).[364] Thus the Almohads were planning to invade the entire east, and undoubtedly the emirs of the Noorid and Ayubid states were well aware of that. Hence they wanted to take initiatives. The Ayubids gave some of their senior figures the task of going to the Maghreb and establishing centers of influence there, so that these centers would be the first line of defense for the eastern emirates in withstanding the ambitions of the Almohads. The campaign of Qaraqoosh against the Maghreb was one of these steps that the Ayubids hastened to take.[365] The Ayubid campaigns headed towards the Maghreb, following the desert route because it was shorter and less dangerous. Hence they avoided the coastal route, which was filled with the tribes of Banu Saleem and Banu Hilal, who had managed to subjugate eastern Libya to their rule, where they prospered and established themselves. Hence they strove hard to hold on to this land and fought anyone who tried to settle there or capture it from them.[366]

Al-Mansoor refused to send help for psychological reasons, because of political grudges and internal problems, and because of enemies lying in wait outside his borders. The Almohad sultan honored the envoy of Salah ad-Deen greatly, and when Salah ad-Deen's envoy, Shams ad-Deen ibn Munqidh, praised al-Mansoor in an ode of forty lines, he gave him one thousand for every line.[367]

Salah ad-Deen al-Ayubi did not recognize the caliphate of the Almohad sultan, and he did not address him as Ameer al-Mu'mineen in the message that he sent to him with his envoy, Ibn Munqidh. This issue is of particular importance, because that would imply recognition of the Almohad caliphate and the legitimacy of the Almohad state, which was openly based on the deviant teachings of Ibn Tumart. This is what was stated by Al Qadi al-Fadil, Salah ad-Deen's senior consultant, when he said:

> The verbal message is enough and it is possible to deny it, but sending a written message is proof that cannot be denied. Once it is read on the pulpits of the Maghreb, it would be as if we were giving up our commitment to the (Abbasid) caliphate and swearing allegiance to one who is not supported by Allah and has no authority and it is not permissible to follow him; we would be undermining the esteemed one (the Abbasid caliph) and doing something inappropriate: dividing the Muslims, undermining the power of the believers, obeying one to whom obedience is not permitted, and putting ourselves under the authority of one whose authority is illegitimate.[368]

It is possible that if Salah ad-Deen could have met with the Almohad ruler and held discussions with him, they may have reached some agreement that would have benefited the entire Ummah, because of Salah ad-Deen's unique and unparalleled political flexibility, and because of al-Mansoor's eagerness to correct the beliefs of the Almohads and bring them closer to the path of Ahl as-Sunnah wal-Jama'ah. Allah decrees what He wants, anyway. Whatever the case, these political and

doctrinal differences that arose between Salah ad-Deen and the king of the Almohads did not prevent their peoples from cooperating at times of both ease and difficulty, as is the case at all times and in all places. It is known from biographies that large numbers of Maghrebis took part in the Crusades alongside their eastern brethren, and many of them were martyred and buried in Palestine.[369] Salah ad-Deen sought to benefit from the Almohads against the Third Crusade, which is indicative of his great political flexibility. So he did what was required of him. As for the Almohad ruler, he could have overcome the sectarian differences and joined Salah ad-Deen in defending the Muslim Ummah, but he failed that test.

Role of Al Qadi al-Fadil during the Crusader siege of Acre

Al-Qadi al-Fadil played a very important role during the Crusader siege of Acre. He was in Egypt at that time, running its affairs on behalf of Salah ad-Deen. Through this position he was making arrangements on the sultan's behalf to equip the troops, prepare the fleet and send money and supplies to Acre. The sultan was corresponding with him about his tasks, to which he would reply in the most eloquent terms, offering suggestions, advice and comfort, seeking to achieve the interests of Islam as much as he could.[370] His correspondence with Salah ad-Deen was ongoing throughout the Frankish siege of Acre, full of sincere expressions from the depths of his heart of his love and sincerity, seeking to ease the difficulties of this siege and to share with him his sorrows and hopes. He used to encourage him in these letters, to urge him to be patient and strengthen his resolve to continue the jihad, not to give up or despair of the mercy and kindness of Allah, and to adhere to hope of the support of Allah. This relationship was based on brotherhood for the sake of Allah and a common aim; it was not one of leader and follower, nor of master and slave. In one of these letters he wrote:

> His highness should not dislike the period of this trial with this enemy being prolonged because the reward will be increased as a result, the impact on

> Islam will be longer lasting, and his conquests will, if Allah wills, be of greater significance and the end will be good for those who fear Allah. Allah grants victory to those who support His cause. May Allah reward his highness for his jihad by his hand and through his opinion, with his children, with his close circle and with his troops in general.[371]

Among the other letters that Al Qadi al-Fadil sent to Salah ad-Deen were those in which he offered his apologies for the delay in the arrival of the Egyptian fleet to Syria with supplies that Salah ad-Deen had requested from Egypt, and he explained that that was due to the prevailing counter winds, and not due to any shortcoming on his part[372].

There can be no doubt that this letter may be regarded as confirmation of the role played in Egypt by this judge and other jurisprudents and scholars in helping Salah ad-Deen by securing requirements and sending food supplies to the troops who were fighting with him in Acre.[373] It is worth mentioning that the qadi was trying by all possible means to help Salah ad-Deen and the Muslims during this siege, so he sent a letter to the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad urging him in the strongest and most effective terms, urging and enjoining him to stand alongside Salah ad-Deen and the Muslims in this difficult situation, in support of the religion of Allah and His Messenger and in support of the Muslims. Perhaps the strongest words that are mentioned in this letter came when he urged the caliph:

> O family of Muhammad, lead this nation in such a way that would reassure him in his grave, and do your duty towards others as he expects you to do, for we and the Muslims are his trust with you, and the likeness of this servant in this situation is no more than the likeness of a slave. If it were possible for him, he would stand at the door, beseeching, and would kiss the ground in humility and would converse with (the dust of the ground). If the obstacles were removed, he would migrate to find healing with the physician of Islam — nay, its Messiah — healing for the disease he is

suffering. If he felt assured that the enemy of Islam would say something different, he would have travelled to him. Were it not for the fact that speaking frankly could undermine a person's character, he would have said things that make eyes weep and break hearts. But he is patient and seeking reward, awaiting the support of Allah, doing what he has to do.[374]

Nevertheless, Al Qadi al-Fadil managed to take Salah ad-Deen through this tough situation that was the siege of Acre; he by himself was like a second army fighting side-by-side with Salah ad-Deen.[375]

Another example of the advice and guidance that came in the letters of Al Qadi al-Fadil to Salah ad-Deen was:

> This is a religion that never prevailed by means of large numbers and was never victorious by means of wealth; rather, Allah chose for it people of sincere intention and pure hearts. Let his highness be a good successor to those predecessors.
>
> **{There has certainly been for you in the Messenger of Allah an excellent pattern.}** ***(Qur'an 33: 21)***
>
> The worse calamity gets, the sooner relief comes, and catastrophes pass and never come back. May Allah cause the ear to hear what delights the heart, and divert from Islam and its people the intensity of this distress. We seek forgiveness from Allah the Almighty, for he never puts anyone in trial except as a result of sin.[376]

It says in another of his letters:

> We are the cause of the problems we are going through. If we are sincere to Him, He will hasten for us the good consequences of our sincerity. If we had obeyed Him, He would not have punished us by means of our enemies. If we do what we are able to of what He commands us, He will do for us what we

> are unable to do except through Him. No one should think of anyone as being against him — it is only (the result of) his deeds; he should not blame anyone but himself; he should not have hope in anyone except his Lord; he should not wait for the troops to increase or for wealth to be acquired, or wait for so-and-so who it is hoped will join the fight or who is expected to give advice. All of that is a distraction from Allah, and victory cannot be achieved that way; we cannot be certain that Allah may leave us to these things when victory is only by His help, mercy is from Him and relief comes from Him. We ask Allah for forgiveness for our sins; were it not for there being an obstacle to our supplication, the response to our supplication could have come down and the tears of the humble could have been wiped away. But there is an obstacle. May Allah choose what is best for his highness with regard to what has happened and what is going to happen.[377]

From another letter:

> We have no complaint, praise be to Allah, about our troops and their resolve; the problem is simply tiredness and exhaustion. Human strength inevitably has a limit but Allah's decree has a purpose and everyone who has a plan is striving and will go as far as is decreed for him. Your servant is saying this for the sake of one purpose, so that his highness will no longer feel annoyed by those of his men who are slowing down, but praise should be shown to those of his heroes who strive hard. Allah says:
>
> **{So pass over [their faults] and ask forgiveness for them; and consult them in the matter.}** ***(Qur'an 3: 159)***
>
> Your highness, didn't Allah examine the hearts of the people of earth and not motivate anyone to do the task, or see anyone better, or choose anyone, or make it easy for, or use, or appoint to establish His religion, make it supreme, establish His authority, protect His symbols and preserve the qibla of those

who proclaim His Oneness, except you? This at a time when there are on earth those who are more closely related to the Prophet (SAW) and those who have power and authority by inheritance, and have an abundance of wealth and huge numbers of troops, but Allah caused them to sit down and caused you to stand up, he made them lazy and made you energetic. He caused them to be idle and caused you to be active. He caused them to love this world and made it hateful to you. He made it difficult for them and made it easy for you. He held them back and sent you forth. He caused them to sheathe their swords and caused you to unsheathe yours. He made them wretched and made you blessed.

{**And if they had intended to go forth, they would have prepared for it [some] preparation. But Allah disliked their being sent, so He kept them back, and they were told: Remain [behind] with those who remain..}** ***(Qur'an 9: 46)***

Yes — another point which is more important than the first — is that when the disbelievers were united in the ends of the earth, where the sun sets and across the sea, none of them stayed behind and none of them thought that the distance between them and you was too great. They came forth out of their evil self-motivation; no money was spent on them, no kings forced them to do that; there was no stick to drive them and no sword to scare them.[378] They are coming from every direction, from all countries, by Land and sea, coming as it is said,

You are not a king who is trying to defeat another king;

rather you are Islam that is trying to defeat polytheism.

Moreover, you do not have support from all the Muslims, except by means of calling them and you do not have anyone who will strive with you by means of words; you do not have anyone coming with you but you are worried concerning them; no one comes with you except for payment, and no one is

content with you except in return for extra payment with which you buy from them their steps, one hand span for a cubit, one cubit for a fathom. So you call them to Allah as if you are calling them to yourselves; you ask them to do the obligation that they take as supererogatory; you offer paradise to them as if you want to keep it exclusively for yourself.[379]

He said in yet another letter:

We have sins which have blocked the way of our supplications, so it is more appropriate that we should blame ourselves. Allah has decreed things that we have no weapon with which to ward them off except by Saying, "There is no power and no might except with Allah." We are expecting a great hardship.

{And say: It is Allah who saves you from it and from every distress.} ***(Qur'an 6: 64)***

The enemy has mobilized against us and it is said to us: **{Fear him}**. We reply: **{Allah is sufficient for us and is the best disposer of affairs, seeking thereby a promise of returning with grace and bounty from Allah.}** ***(Qur'an 3: 174)*** We hope only for that great grace, we have no choice but to seek help from Allah. Allah has not taught us, at times of hardship, to do other than to call upon him, seek his generosity and beseech him.

{Then why, when Our punishment came to them, did they not humble themselves? Instead, their hearts became hardened} ***(Qur'an 6: 43)***

We seek refuge with Allah from hardheartedness, and from despairing of His mercy, and from despairing of relief, for no one despairs of that but one who has lost his mind, one who is cast away from Allah, who has no share of faith in Him. The best way is to give up our trust in our power and put all our trust in Allah's power, and to turn to the One whose decree is always executed without any effort on His part. If Allah knows that his highness's troops have

done their utmost then He will excuse them, thus his Highness should not blame them. If Allah knows that they could have done better and have fallen short in supporting the word of Allah, then the wrath of Allah is sufficient for them.[380] Your servant reminds his Highness of patience, forbearance, good attitude and fear of his Lord, and to take care of his health and bring joy to the Muslims by recovering from his illness.

{If their evasion is difficult for you, then if you are able to seek a tunnel into the earth or a stairway into the sky to bring them a sign [do so]. But if Allah had willed, He would have united them through guidance.} ***(Qur'an 6: 35)***

His highness is more deserving of this line of poetry:
He is not arrogant or proud,
No matter how many blessings come.
He is patient at the time of affliction,
seeking the reward of Allah.

It was said to al-Muhallab: Would you like to gain victory without effort? He replied: I hate to develop the habit of incapability and inaction; the will of Allah will inevitably be executed in His creation, and there is no way to ward off His decree. So his highness should not complain about anything that He decrees, for if the decree of Allah is executed whilst he is content with it and is rewarded for it, that is better than if it happens when he is discontent and incurring sin thereby. So he would suffer the fire of hardship — may Allah protect him from it— and would not find comfort in the reward because of it. Allah will reward immensely the one who complains about his pain and grief to Allah, because He is the one to complain to and the one whose help is to be sought. If a person calls upon his lord in secret, he will respond to him openly, so let his highness's complaint be to Allah away from us, in private, and he should not weaken the morale of the people who can only be

strengthened by him, or cause distress to the people who only find relief in him. Nothing causes sleeplessness or keeps one awake thinking all night except the hardship caused by shortage of food in Acre. His highness knows from direct experience that he is not running affairs except by the help of the One who is running all affairs, and he is not executing any decree except by the help of the One Who has decreed all things, and the problem will not go away by worrying too much.

I said to the man who was in a state of anxiety:

Delegate your affairs to Allah

and you will sleep content.[381]

Any idea is subject to discussion except that of a city becoming Christian after it had become Muslim, or a city where the minbar becomes mute after having spoken. Your highness, these nights when you stayed up in front of the enemy when the people were finding it tough, and you stayed up when people slept, these days when the callers cried out, "O knights of Allah, ride.” These hours that turned people's hair grey, these intense battles, the fire of which consumes people, are a blessing from from Allah to you, they are your plants in paradise and what you are going to find in the Hereafter.

{The Day every soul will find what it has done of good present.} (Qur'an 3: 30)

They will help you to cross the bridge over Hell, they will make your balance weigh heavy and they are degrees of status of those with whom Allah is pleased.[382] Praise Allah for them as you praise Him for the great victories, and remember that the reward for patience is superior to the reward for gratitude. One of the reasons for the courage of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar ibn al-Khattab (RA) was his statement, "If patience and gratitude were two camels I would not mind which of them I rode.”

With this resolve they went ahead of us and left us behind, and we have no hope of even catching up with their dust. They achieved a great deal, and we seek refuge with Allah from stumbling. In establishing the truth, Allah has never used any but the best of His creation. We may know what happened from reading the biographies of the earliest Muslims and the stories of the Prophet (SAW). Allah encouraged His Prophet (SAW) to follow their guidance and to follow their path and follow the example of the Messengers of Strong Will among them. The price of paradise can never be too high. Allah never tests those of His slaves except those who He knows have patience. Worldly matters erase one another and it is as if what was, never happened. Exhaustion will go and reward will remain. What you see with your eyes is like a dream. My best advice is that his highness should not worry to such an extent that will weaken him physically and upset his mood. The Ummah is like a structure and he — may Allah preserve him — is its foundation, and may Allah make this foundation strong to support the truth. As a Persian proverb goes, "If something befalls you that you can do something about, do not feel helpless, and if something befalls you that you cannot do anything about — Allah forbid — do not panic."

There may be someone who is going through hardship, but if he manages to forget about his worries and focus on planning with the help of Allah, he will find a way out and his hardship will be relieved.

{And you do not will, except that Allah wills.} **(Qur'an 76: 30)**

This is a sultan who, by the help of Allah, is more certain of his power. Kings fight because they are motivated by ambition, but he fights because he is motivated by his faith. When Allah looks at his highness's heart, he will find no trust except in Him, no reliance on any power except His. Relief is inevitable and the protection of Allah will always be with him, so he should never despair of the mercy of Allah and he should never say: when will the

help of Allah come? His highness should be patient, because he is created for patience. He should give thanks because gratitude at a time when patience is expected is the highest degree of gratitude. Let him Say to the One Who is testing him: You are the source of relief. Let him be content with Allah, may He be glorified, for the one with whom Allah is pleased is the one who is content (with Allah's decree). With regard to the news of turmoil in Persia, Glory be to the One Who caused their tongues to express what is in their hearts.

{Say: Allah [revealed it]. When leave them in their [empty] discourse, amusing themselves.} ***(Qur'an 6: 91)***

The Sultan wrote a letter to Al Qadi al-Fadil from the lad of the Franks telling him of the signs of victory that he had seen and saying: "I am only worried about our sins lest Allah punish us for them." Al-Fadil wrote back to him saying,

As for his highness's saying that we are worried lest we be punished for our sins, the sins were there before you took your stand (in battle), then they were erased thereby; wrong deeds were written down then were forgiven by virtue of these hours (of jihad and hardship) and were pardoned. The tongue of the red sword in jihad is sufficient reason for forgiveness, and the sound of combat with the enemies is effectively knocking at the door of paradise. Allah is watching over you, and all your jihad and efforts are for his sake. Glad tidings to the one who follows in your footsteps, glad tidings to a face that is wrapped in your dust, and glad tidings to a soul that fights and kills alongside you. Our thoughts were focused on thanking Allah for giving you to us and we were thus distracted from voicing our thanks to you.[383]

Such was Al Qadi al-Fadil, the devout scholar and a brilliant speaker, a man who possessed a deep understanding of the laws of Allah with regard to achieving victory. It comes as no surprise to us, after this correspondence, that Salah ad-Deen said, "I did not conquer any land by my sword, but by the pen of Al Qadi al-Fadil."

The presence of men of the caliber of Al Qadi al-Fadil with the political and military leadership had a great effect on the Muslims' morale. It opened the gates of hope for the leaders, made them eager to gain reward with Allah, and was the cause of their being patient and steadfast.

Efforts of Salah ad-Deen to lift the siege of Acre

Salah ad-Deen mobilized the Muslims and their emirs to engage in jihad for the sake of Allah. He led the massed Muslims in charging at the enemy. The fighting between him and the Crusaders was ongoing: every time he destroyed a battalion of theirs, they replaced it with many more. Europe stood behind its armies, supporting them and supplying them with wealth, ships, and men, consistently. Hatred for the Muslims filled their hearts. When the siege of Acre intensified, Salah ad-Deen was very concerned about the defenders' being supplied continuously with wealth and men, because supplies were reaching the Crusaders easily, whereas supplies were only reaching the besieged Muslims with great difficulty. Salah ad-Deen al-Ayubi did not ignore any trick or military maneuver suggested by his commanders; he used every one of them.[384] These tricks included the following:

Penetrating the naval blockade of Acre

Salah ad-Deen (may Allah have mercy on him) had prepared a large ship in Beirut, and loaded it with 400 sacks of wheat as well as cheese, onions, sheep and other food supplies. The Franks had placed their ships around Acre, to guard it from any Muslim ship entering it. There was a severe and urgent need in the city for food and provisions. The group of Muslims sailed in the ship from Beirut, dressed in Frankish clothing; they even shaved their beards, put pigs on the deck of the ship where they could be seen from a distance, and hung up crosses. They approached the city from a distance, until they mingled with the enemy ships. The Crusaders came out to them and their warships intercepted them.

They said to the disguised Muslims, "We see you are heading for the city," and they thought that they were their own people.

The Muslims asked, "Did you capture the city yet?"

The Crusaders replied, "No, we have not captured the city yet."

The Muslims in disguise told them, "We will sail to the troops, and behind us another large ship is on its way, so warn them not to enter the city."

Behind them there was a large Frankish ship which had sailed with them on the sea heading towards the troops. So they saw it and headed towards it to warn it, and the Muslim ship began to sail fast, as the wind was in the right direction, and entered the port safely, praise be to Allah, and that was a great relief, because the people in the city were in great need.[385]

In the middle ten days of Sha'ban, Baha' ad-Deen Qaraqoosh, who was the governor of the city, and the person in charge of the fleet, Admiral Lu'lu', wrote to tell the Sultan that there were no provisions left in the city. There was only enough to last until the middle of Sha'ban and no more. Yoosuf Salah ad-Deen kept that to himself and did not tell anyone about it, whether in his inner circle or the general public, for fear that rumors would spread and news might reach the enemy, thus weakening Muslim morale. He had returned to Egypt, telling them to prepare three ships, loaded with food, staple goods and provisions, and everything that was needed in the siege, to last throughout the winter. The three ships set out from Egypt, and went out to the deep sea, waiting for the right wind to carry them to Acre. The winds were good and remained in the right direction until they set sail and reached Acre in the middle of the month.

Supplies had run out, and they had nothing left to feed the people on that day. The enemy fleet went out to fight them, and the Muslim troops were watching that from the shore and the people were shouting out, ***'La ilaha ill Allah!'***[386] and

'Allahu Akbar!'[387] The Muslims uncovered their heads, beseeching Allah to decree safety for the fleet until it reached the city. The sultan was standing on the shore, like a bereft mother, watching the fighting and calling upon his Lord for help. He realized things about the people's hardship that no one else realized, and there was great worry in his heart, but Allah made him steadfast. The fighting continued around the ships on all sides, with Allah protecting them and the wind blowing strongly. Voices were raised on both sides and supplications were penetrating the heavens. They arrived safely in the port, praise be to Allah, and the people of Acre welcomed them like rain after drought.[388]

The swimmer 'Eesa penetrates the siege

One of the remarkable stories about the fight for Acre is that a Muslim swimmer, whose name was 'Eesa, used to enter the city with letters and money tied to his waist, penetrating the siege at night without the enemy realizing anything. He would dive from one side of the enemy ships and emerge at the other side. One night he tied three bags around his waist, in which there were one thousand dinars and letters to the troops. He swam in the sea, but something happened to him and he died. The Muslims began to worry about him when they did not hear anything from him. It was his habit, when he entered the city, to release a bird. The Muslims knew that he had failed to arrive because of the delay in the release of the bird, and they sensed that he had died. A few days later, while the people were on the shoreline in the city, the sea threw out a drowned body to them. They checked it and found that it was the swimmer 'Eesa. They found the gold and the wax seals of the letters tied to his waist. The gold was funds for the mujahideen. Never before had anyone been seen who was entrusted with something during his life and Allah decreed that he should deliver the trust after his death, except this man.[389]

Al-Isfahani commented:

It was noted that he (meaning 'Eesa) was missing, and no news was heard of him and no trace was found. The people began to speculate but there was no certainty that he had died. He undoubtedly had a great status before Allah, and Allah did not want his situation to remain vague and open to speculation. So he was found dead in Acre, when the sea threw him onto the shore, and Allah proved him innocent of what they were saying. Thus certain truth dispelled speculation and false accusation.[390]

The Muslims target the siege engines and other war machines

The Crusaders' hopes of capturing Acre were raised; they set up the mangonels[391] on all sides, and took turns in striking the city with them night and day. When the Muslims inside the city saw the harm that was being inflicted on them by those mangonels, they were motivated by their Islamic fervor and decided to open the gates of the city and attack the Crusaders on the outside. They did that and sallied forth on all sides, and the Muslims attacked the Crusaders in their camps. The Crusaders were distracted by the need to protect their camps and they abandoned the mangonels, which were struck by flame throwers and caught fire, and every single one of them was burnt.[392]

Crusader siege of the 'Tower of Flies'

In Sha'ban of the same year (586 AH), the Crusaders besieged the Tower of Flies', which Ibn Shaddad described as "a tower in the middle of the harbour", on a rock at the entrance to the port of Acre, which guarded the port. Once ships passed it they would be safe from enemy attack. Capturing the tower would put the port under their control, so they would be able to prevent the ships loaded with provisions from reaching the city. The Crusaders fixed turrets on the top of the masts of their ships and filled them with wood and naphtha, intending to sail close up to the Tower of Flies and as soon as they came alongside, to set the wooden towers on fire, and hurl

them onto the terrace of the Tower of Flies; they would then take possession of it after they had killed the men of the garrison. One boat was filled with combustibles to throw onto the tower as soon as it should have caught fire. The besiegers filled another ship with wood and similar materials, with a view to sending it into the midst of the Muslim vessels in the harbour, and then setting it on fire, so as to burn them and the provisions with which they were laden. The third ship was covered with a makeshift roof to protect the soldiers, who were drawn up underneath, against arrows and projectiles hurled from the engines of war. These men, as soon as they had set the tower on fire were, according to their instructions, to withdraw under the roof, so as to be sheltered from missiles. Despite the fact that the wind direction was initially as they wanted, Allah's decree was that after they had set fire to the towers they had built on the masts of their ships, and to the ships that they wanted to send amongst the Muslim ships, the wind direction should reverse and turn against them, so their first ship on which stood the tower was set ablaze, and so was the second ship. The fires then spread to the ships in which their troops were covered by the roof, and the Crusaders inside panicked, but they could not get out from under the roof, so they all perished.[393]

Despite that catastrophe which befell the Crusaders when they attempted to capture the Tower of Flies, they did not lose hope of capturing that tower. So they tried again and brought a huge machine in the form of a tank,[394] on which was fitted a huge iron-clad battering ram, with which they rammed the walls and destroyed them with repeated blows. They also used another device which was like a roof, under which stood a number of soldiers, and it had a pointed head like the sharp edge of a plough, which they called 'the cat'. The head of the battering ram was round and caused destruction with its weight, while the head of the cat caused destruction by means of its sharp edge. They also used rope ladders and other huge ladders, and at sea they prepared a large ship on which they built a tower which, when they wanted to topple it onto the walls, they could lower slowly, so that it would form a bridge to

the place onto which it was toppled and the fighters could walk across it. They wanted to bring this ship close to the Tower of Flies and capture it, and when their preparations were complete, they started marching towards the city and attacking it from all sides in huge numbers.

The Muslims ignored them at first, until it became clear that their aim was to capture Acre so they brought out those war machines, placing them close to the walls. When the situation became critical, the Muslims all shouted as one and opened the gates, and "sold their souls to their Creator", as the historian Ibn Shaddad said. They attacked the enemy on all sides and confronted them in their trenches. When the Muslims saw how humiliated and defeated the Crusaders were, they attacked their battering ram, throwing fire and naphtha at it, managing to burn it, and the Crusader fighters fled. The fire then spread to the cat and burned it. The Muslims then placed iron hooks on the ram and hauled it, still burning, into the city. This ram was made of a number of beams. They threw water on it until the iron cooled down — this took several days. This happened in Ramadan of 586 AH/October 1190.[395]

The Muslims take control of the situation

From the incidents related above, we can see the extent to which the Muslims took control of the situation and, at the same time, the level of panic and fear reached by the Crusaders. The Muslims were not content only to inflict damage on the Crusaders' war engines; they also made use of them in their jihad to liquidate them. In Wednesday the 15th of Ramadan, the Muslims boarded their ships and took by surprise the Crusader ship which had been prepared to capture the Tower of Flies. They struck it with bottles of naphtha and the Crusaders' attempt to seize the Tower met with utter failure.[396]

Outstanding courage

In Jumada II 587 AH/June 1191 CE the Crusaders attacked the Muslim ship that had set forth from Beirut laden with equipment, weapons, provisions and men. Their commander was a courageous man; as soon as he saw that they were going to be defeated he told his companions to scuttle their ships themselves, lest the enemy be able to get their hands on them. They wielded their axes on all sides until water entered the ships and they sank, along with everything that was on board including equipment and provisions, and the enemy did not get their hands on anything of it.[397]

Muslim attack on a four-storey siege tower

The Muslims decided, as they were still inside Acre, to attack the Crusaders and inflict heavy losses on them so as to prove to them that the sinking of the ship had not affected them. It so happened that this time the enemy had made a tall tower four storeys high. The first level was made of wood, the second was of lead, the third was of iron and the fourth was of copper, and it was higher than the city walls. They loaded it with fighters and brought it close to the wall in order to attack the Muslims inside the city, but the Muslims hastened to strike it with naphtha, and continued to strike it night and day until they managed to set fire to it and burn it.[398]

Despite these losses that the Muslims inflicted on the Crusaders, Western Europe did not stop sending supplies to the Crusaders in Greater Syria, which enabled the Crusaders to continue their siege of Acre. At the same time that Salah ad-Deen had achieved great victories against the Crusaders, both in battle and by destroying their equipment and war engines, the greatest Kings of Europe namely Philip Augustus, the King of France and Richard the Lionhearted, King of England, reached the Muslim East. They came by sea and undoubtedly their arrival had a far-reaching effect in raising the morale of the Crusaders.[399]

Changing the Muslim troops in Acre

When winter came and the seas grew rough, and he felt sure that the enemy was not going to attack or try to break into the city and besiege it because there was a great deal of non-stop rain, Salah ad-Deen gave permission to the troops to go back to their homes and have some rest. Only a small group of commanders and his inner circle stayed with the sultan.[400] The sultan focused on a change of troops in Acre and bringing in supplies and provisions. He also made sure to send the commanders in the city away, because they were complaining too much about having stayed there for so long and about the fighting that continued night and day. They also suffered exhaustion and sleeplessness. The commander who was in charge of the incoming troops was Sayf ad-Deen al-Mashtoob. On 16 Muharram 587 AH, the commander who had been in the city, whose name was Husam ad-Deen Abul-Hayja', and the commanders who were with him, left the city, and some commanders and prominent people entered the city with al-Mashtoob, who gave instructions to everyone who entered the city to bring with him provisions for a whole year.[401]

A great catastrophe for the Muslims

Al-Malik al-‘Adil moved with his troops to Haifa on the coast, which was a port where ships were loaded and entered the city, and from which ships departed. He stayed there and began urging the people to go to Acre and guard their supplies and provisions lest the enemy attack them. Among those that entered the city were seven ships filled with provisions, supplies and money, which had arrived from Egypt. They arrived on Monday, 2[n] Dhul-Hijjah. One of these ships was wrecked on a rock that is near the port, and all the fighters in the city rushed to the shore to retrieve what was on board. When the enemy realized that the Muslim warriors had rushed to the shore, they gathered in greater numbers and marched towards the city from the other side. They approached the walls and climbed up on one ladder, but the ladder broke

beneath them, as Allah willed. The people of the city caught up with them and killed a large number of them, and the enemy went back defeated and frustrated.[402]

As for the large ships, the sea grew rough with great waves, striking some against others and against the rocks, and they were destroyed and all those aboard perished. It was said that those who perished numbered sixty persons and that there were huge supplies of provisions on board which, if they had arrived safely, could have sufficed the city for an entire year. The Muslims were weakened because of that and went through great hardship.[403] The Sultan was very saddened by that and this was the first indication of the city's coming fall.

Some of the Franks become Muslim

Many of the Franks, prompted by hunger, sought safety in the camp of the sultan Salah ad-Deen and said, "We could sail in the sea in a small ship and capture some of the enemy, and whatever we captured would be between us and the Muslims." He gave them permission and gave them a small ship, so they set sail in it and captured some enemy merchant ships with their trade goods, most of which was silver, both worked and un-worked; they also took the crew prisoner and brought them to the Sultan, and the Sultan gave these renegades all the booty that they had captured.[404] When they were honored in this manner, they praised his generosity and half of them became Muslim. The booty included a large table of silver in which there were shelves, and with which there were plates and similar vessels of silver. If those silver items were weighed they would weigh about fifty kilograms, but Salah ad-Deen never looked at it because he despised it.[405]

Martyrdom of Jamal ad-Deen Muhammad ibn Arkaz

During this year the Muslim men-of-war met the Frankish men-of-war on the sea, and they burned the disbelievers' men-of-war with their crews. On the way back, one ship was delayed. Its captain was the emir Jamal ad-Deen Muhammad ibn

Arkaz. It was surrounded by enemy ships, and its sailors threw themselves into the water, abandoning their captain. He fought steadfastly, and the Franks offered him security, but he said, "I will only put my hand in the hands of your leader, for a prominent man can only deal with another prominent man."

They brought him to their leader, and he thought that he was taking him as a prisoner, so they wrestled one another, and he kept holding him and did not let him go, and they fell into the sea and were drowned; they were together in death, but they parted on the way to paradise and hell.[406]

Arrival of Al Qadi al-Fadil at Salah ad-Deen's camp

Al-Qadi al-Fadil arrived from Egypt in the camp of Salah ad-Deen in Dhul-Hijjah. The Sultan was eagerly awaiting his arrival, as the separation between them had lasted for two years. The affairs of Egypt were under control whilst he was in charge, and he had created both respect and love for al-Malik al-'Azeez. The Sultan trusted him a great deal, and always relied and depended on him. If he brought him to be with him, he would worry about the tasks that he had left behind, but if he left him there, he would agonize about taking decisions on his own. He used to write to him explaining the situation and consulting him, and the letter carriers were always going back and forth with letters and advice concerning different missions. The Qadi reached Jerusalem, but was delayed because of ongoing rain. He finally arrived at the camp of the sultan and Salah ad-Deen was very happy with the reunion and the arrival of his manager, by means of whose good advice Salah ad-Deen had established himself.[407]

Death of the chief Qadi Kamal ad-Deen ash-Shahrazoori in Mosul

In the same year, the chief Qadi Muhiy ad-Deen Abu Hamid Muhammad ibn Qadi al-Qudat Kamal ad-Deen ash-Shahrazoori died in Mosul. Al-Isfahani praised

him a great deal and wrote poetry for him on the topic of tawheed, confirming the attributes of Allah and declaring that "there is nothing like unto Him among His creation", and praising the Companions.

The Kings of France and England arrive at Acre

There came to the Muslim East the greatest kings of Europe of that time, namely King Philip Augustus, the King of France, and Richard the Lionhearted, the King of England, who came there by sea. Undoubtedly their arrival had a far-reaching effect in raising the morale of the Crusaders, when the King of France set sail from Genoa and the King of England set sail from Marseille, and they met in Sicily where they spent six months with their armies enjoying a warm winter at the time when the remnants of the Crusaders in Syria, who had gathered before the city of Acre, were anxiously awaiting their arrival.[408]

Philip Augustus set sail from Messina on 2 Rabee’1 587 AH/ 31st of March 1191 CE, and reached Tyre where he was welcomed by his relative Conrad de Montferrat, who then accompanied him to Acre in the midst of Crusader rejoicing. That was on the 23rd Rabee' I 587 AH/ 31st of March 1191 CE.[409] In contrast, the situation of the Muslims inside Acre and outside became more difficult. The troops were tired from so much fighting, so the rulers of Sinjar, Mesopotamia and Mosul left.[410] It seems that Philip Augustus did not want to wait for the arrival of Richard the Lionhearted; he immediately started to intensify the siege on Acre, after organizing the Crusader ranks. He set up towers, and the troops began assaulting the city continually; they also filled in the moat which surrounded it. However, his attempt to attack the walls was delayed until Richard the Lionhearted and his followers arrived.[411] Richard the Lionhearted had stopped in Cyprus, after leaving Messina, which was under the rule of Isaac Dukas Komnenos who was famous for his hatred of the Latins. He arrived there on 10 Rabee’1 587 AH/8 May 1191 CE and captured it, taking Isaac prisoner, then he left and headed for Syria, where his ships arrived on 10

Jumada 1/ 5 June. He landed near Tyre, but the guards of the city refused to allow him to enter it, on the instructions of Conrad de Montferrat, whereupon he continued his journey by sea to Acre at the head of 25 ships, and arrived there on 13 Jumada I /8 June. His arrival instilled hope in the hearts of the Crusaders who were besieging Acre, despite the deterioration in the relationship between him and the French King.[412] In contrast, the situation of the Muslim garrison of the city deteriorated because of the pressure of these huge masses of Crusaders who intensified their siege on the city and their attacks on it.[413]

The fall of Acre

Salah ad-Deen was watching these developments from his headquarters at Shaf'amar, then from Kharoobah, and then from al-'Ayadiyah. It the end of Jumada I/ June he received new reinforcements from Mesopotamia, whereupon he launched a number of counter attacks against the Crusaders. The Crusaders began attacking his troops, but they failed to achieve any goal after the Muslims stood up to them with great patience and steadfastness.[414] The aim of the fighting was to gauge the strength of the opponent. Salah ad-Deen wanted to prove to Richard the Lionhearted that his army was still strong and that he could sand up to him. As for Richard the Lionhearted, for his part, he wanted to find out whether he was able to impose his will on Salah ad-Deen by force of arms or force him to negotiate, after inflicting defeat on the Muslims, and to agree to his conditions. At the same time, he realized that military circumstances were on his side.[415] The repeated attacks launched by the Muslims on the Crusaders who were besieging Acre had not succeeded, but the fact that they stood firm in the face of counter attacks prompted Richard the Lionhearted to seek negotiations, and he announced his desire to meet the Sultan. He was hoping to reach a peaceful settlement, but Salah ad-Deen responded cautiously, "It is not wise for two hostile Kings to meet until a truce has been drawn up between them." Nevertheless he expressed his readiness to allow his brother al-'Adil to meet the English king and it

was decided to halt the fighting for three days. It was agreed to hold a meeting in the plain that separated the Muslim and Crusader camps, but it so happened that both the King of England and the King of France fell sick suddenly, and Richard the Lionhearted's sickness got worse, but that did not affect the morale of the Crusaders who grew more determined and more evil.[416]

Negotiations for the handover of Acre

In fact the attacks launched by Salah ad-Deen against the Crusader forces did not succeed. Acre had grown very weak and the pressure on the Muslims inside the city had intensified. The Crusader mangonels had destroyed part of its walls and weakened another part. Effort and sleeplessness had exhausted the people of this city because their numbers were too few and their efforts were too great. In 7 Jumada II/ 2 July, the garrison sent a letter which stated:

> We have reached a point where we are too weak to do anything but surrender, which we will do tomorrow; if you do not do anything we will ask for safety and surrender the city, and save only ourselves.[417]

This news was the worst thing that the Muslims could hear, because Acre was a large depot of weapons for the coast, as well as for Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, and Egypt; in it were the senior emirs of Salah ad-Deen, such as Sayf ad-Deen 'Ali ibn Ahmad al-Hakari, who was known as al-Mashtoob, and Baha' ad-Deen Qaraqoosh.[418] Moreover the garrison had effectively taken the decision to stop fighting. Sayf ad-Deen al-Mashtoob himself went to the Crusader camp to meet the French king and reach an agreement with him on the terms of surrender. He reminded him that when the Muslims captured a city from the Crusaders and other people in the city asked for safety it would be granted to them, and he offered to surrender the city to him in return for a guarantee of safety to the people inside. The King of France, who was totally lacking in the gallantry and chivalry for which Salah ad-Deen was

known, refused to respond to his request and responded in a way which was indicative of his harshness, which provoked Sayf ad-Deen al-Mashtoob to speak harshly to him. He told the king, "We will never surrender the city until we are all killed, and none of us will be killed until we kill fifty of your leaders."

Then al-Mashtoob left and entered Acre, where he urged the people to engage in jihad and give their souls for the sake of Allah.[419]

Despite that stubbornness of the King of France, the Crusaders undoubtedly regarded the Muslim forces as something to be reckoned with, according to Ibn al-Atheer.

> The Crusaders were not content to negotiate only with the leaders of the Muslim garrison in Acre; they also negotiated with Salah ad-Deen himself. They sent word to him about the issue of surrender, and he agreed to it on condition that the Muslims in Acre be allowed to leave, and he would in turn release an equal number of Crusader prisoners in the city.[420]

Salah ad-Deen urges the Muslims in Acre to be steadfast

Whatever the case, when Salah ad-Deen saw the stubbornness of the Crusaders, he sent word to the Muslims in Acre urging them to be patient, and enjoining them to come out of the city all together after charging at the enemy as one man. He promised them that he himself would meet them at the site where they came out, with his troops, and he would fight the Crusaders so that they would be able to come out and join him. However, that attempt was not successful, because the Crusaders were in control of the city.[421]

At this point the Muslims inside Acre realized that they had no choice except jihad and fighting hard against the enemy. So they wrote to Salah ad-Deen telling him that they had pledged to fight to the death and that they had resolved to continue fighting and would never surrender so long as they were still alive.[422]

Despite that great sacrifice on the part of the people of Acre and their love for martyrdom for the sake of Allah, it seems that Salah ad-Deen and his emirs who were inside the city, such as the emir Sayf ad-Deen al-Mashtoob and others, were very keen to save Muslim lives. This is indicated by what is said that when Sayf ad-Deen al-Mashtoob saw the situation, he went out to the Crusaders a second time and decided with them to handover the city in return for allowing the Muslims inside to come out with their wealth and their lives, and he would pay them a sum of 200,000 dinars and 500 prisoners, in addition to returning the ‘True Cross 'and paying a sum of money to Conrad de Montferrat, ruler of Tyre.[423]

Crusader treachery and breaking of the deal

The Crusaders accepted this agreement and swore an oath to Sayf ad-Deen al-Mashtoob, so he handed the city over to them and they entered it peacefully. However, when the Crusaders entered Acre, they broke their agreement as usual and betrayed the Muslims in the city, capturing them, seizing their possessions and putting them in prison. That occurred on 17 Jumada II 587 AH/ July 1191 CE. They gave the excuse that they did that so that they could receive what had been agreed upon in terms of ransoms and prisoners. At this point Salah ad-Deen began to collect money, of which he collected a large amount, and he consulted his companions about handing it over to the Crusaders. They suggested that he should go back again and ask the Crusaders to swear an oath that they would release his companions, and said that the Templars should guarantee that because they were religious men and honest. However, the Templars refused to do that and said: We will not swear an oath and we will not guarantee anything, because we are afraid of the betrayal of those who are with us.[424] When Salah ad-Deen became aware of their treachery, he did not go through with it.[425]

At that point, the banners of the Crusaders were flying above the towers of Acre and the Crusaders managed to enter Acre after besieging it for nearly two years,

which sent a wave of grief and sorrow among the Muslims, as expressed by their historians. It seems that the Crusaders delayed implementing their side of the deal. Salah ad-Deen had sent the first installment of the money and captives, but when he asked them to do their part in full they refused, at which point he realized that they had decided to break the deal, and he refused to hand over to them the remaining men and captives.[426]

When Richard the Lionhearted saw that Salah ad-Deen had stopped handing over money and captives, and was not going to handover the ‘True Cross' to them, he stopped contacting Salah ad-Deen. Richard's recklessness and foolishness prompted him to drive the Muslim prisoners who were in Acre, of whom there were around 3000, to 'Ayadiyah, where he tied them up, then the Crusaders attacked them all at once and killed every single one of them. That massacre occurred on 27 Rajab 587 AH/ 20 August 1191 CE.[427]

Undoubtedly that cruel action taken by Richard against the Muslim prisoners in Acre could have no outcome other than provoking the zeal of the Muslims, who realized the danger posed by the Crusaders, so they rushed from all parts of the Muslim world to join the jihad against the Crusaders. Indeed the Muslim armies prevented the Crusader armies from achieving any victory after they entered Acre. That was because of the steadfastness of the Muslim armies in the field of battle as they sensed the increasing danger posed by the Crusaders. The entry of the Crusaders into Acre was also followed by differences and divisions among their leadership, which led to their disunity and inability to achieve any further victories after Acre. That victory was in no way comparable to all the losses that befell the Crusaders.[428]

There was a great difference between the savage attitude of Richard towards the Muslim prisoners in Acre and the humane approach that Salah ad-Deen took with the Crusaders on many occasions. These included his treatment of the Crusader prisoners following his victory at Hattin and his subsequent capture of

Jerusalem, as he was always keen to allow the Crusaders in the cities that he captured to leave safely.[429] There is abundant anecdotal evidence of the Islamic humane conduct demonstrated by Salah ad-Deen during this siege of Acre, some of which is related below.

The Christian woman searching for her infant son

Among the Muslims there were thieves who would enter enemy tents and steal from them, even kidnapping people and then leaving. One night they took a three-month-old infant. When his mother realized that he was missing, she stayed up all night, wailing and crying. When news of her plight reached their kings, they told her, "He (meaning Salah ad-Deen) is compassionate. We give you permission to go to him, so go and ask him and he will give (the child) back to you."

So she went out and asked the Muslim scouts for help, telling them about the situation. They took her to the Sultan so she came to him as he was riding at Tell Kharoobah. Al-Qadi Ibn Shaddad was with him, and he is the one who narrated the story.

> There were a lot of people around him, and she wept greatly and rubbed her face with dust. He asked about her, so they told him her story and he felt sorry for her, his eyes overflowed with tears, and he ordered that the infant be brought. So they went and found that he had been sold in the market place. He ordered that his price be repaid to the one who had bought him and the child was taken from him. He (may Allah have mercy on him) remained standing until the child was brought and handed over to her. She took him, weeping greatly, and clasped him to her bosom as the people were looking on and weeping, and I was standing in the midst of them. She breastfed him for a while, then he ordered that she be placed on a horse and taken back to their camp with her child.[430]

Look at this compassion, which included all of humankind.

Dealing with the King of England

Many letters came from the Franks to the Sultan but they were all a waste of time. The King of England asked to meet him, and then he changed his mind. Then the king's envoy came asking permission to give gifts of birds of prey that had been brought from overseas. The king had grown weak however, and changed his mind, wanting to receive instead chickens and other birds that they themselves could eat in order to grow strong. Only after that would the birds of prey be given as a gift to Salah ad-Deen. Salah ad-Deen understood that Richard needed that for himself, because he had just recovered from sickness. Then Richard sent a Maghrebi prisoner whom he had with him, and the sultan Salah ad-Deen set him free. Then the king sent word asking for fruit and ice, and the sultan sent it to him.[431]

Reasons for the fall of Acre

There were many reasons which in combination led to the terrible fall of Acre, after the Muslims had defended it for nearly two years. Perhaps the most important of them were the following.

Arrival of new European forces

The arrival of reinforcements from Europe tipped the balance in favor of the Crusaders, despite the fact that large numbers of them had been killed. Innumerable fresh troops reached them by sea from many nations that participated in this huge crusader campaign. Princes prepared themselves for it by means of the wealth and equipment that they had. The Italian cities took it upon themselves to give their help and take part in the transfer of troops and equipment, not letting the Muslim ships bring any supplies or equipment that were needed in the besieged city. Their naval superiority was clear.[432] The city resisted the Crusader siege for two whole years,

during which it witnessed the most intense military operations in which the Crusaders took part with more than a quarter of a million troops. The Crusaders had the advantage during this siege because of their strong fleet and huge war machines.[433]

Crusaders' use of various new weapons

During the Battle of Acre the Crusaders used many kinds of weapons and war machines, both ancient types and those that they improved, whether to attack and breach the walls of the city or to defend themselves behind the walls and trenches that they had built to prevent Salah ad-Deen's forces reaching them. After a lengthy stand-off, sandwiched between the walls of acre and the troops of Salah ad-Deen, they managed to create gaps in the walls.[434] In a letter prepared by Al Qadi al-Fadil and sent by Salah ad-Deen to the Abbasid caliph, he announced that the Crusaders fought sometimes with towers, sometimes with mangonels, sometimes with testudos or battering rams, sometimes by drilling and boring, even fighting at night, sometimes by filling in the trenches and sometimes by setting up ladders, sometimes charging by night and by day, and sometimes attacking by sea in boats.[435] Richard's men were able to breach the walls by means of a newfangled invention which they called the cat, as well as with mangonels, which could throw huge rocks that shook the walls and sent Shockwaves wherever they fell in the city.[436]

A lengthy siege

The length of this siege by Land and by sea exhausted the Muslims despite the system that Salah ad-Deen had introduced of alternating the troops by sending replacements into the city. But he was unable to continue that, especially when the Crusaders intensified their siege of the city. The successes achieved by Salah ad-Deen's army that beset the Crusaders from time to time, especially at the beginning of the Crusader siege, were of no benefit.[437] The inevitable outcome was a slowdown in

making real efforts; then the commanders began to complain about Salah ad-Deen, and their complaints soon became a habit and developed into criticism and then into opposition, and that weakened the Muslim ranks.[438]

In a letter to the Abbasid caliph, the sultan explained the situation with regard to Acre; he described how the emirs withdrew, one after another, because the lengthy period and heavy costs had undermined their ability but not their willingness, and had sapped their physical strength but not their courage. So their clothes had worn out, their weapons had become blunt, and their money had run out at a time when the sea was bringing reinforcements to the Franks in ship after ship, seemingly as numerous as the number of waves of the sea. If the Muslims killed one Crusader on land, they would send a thousand to replace him, and if one group of them was wiped out, larger groups came to replace them.[439] The sultan did not regret anything as much as he regretted the absence of his nephew Taqi ad- Deen 'Umar who had gone to his emirate in Mesopotamia on the condition that he return soon, but events in his emirate had kept him from returning quickly. Salah ad-Deen believed that the absence of Taqi ad-Deen was one of the main factors that led to the fall of Acre.[440]

Financial woes in Salah ad-Deen's army

The lengthy conflict with the Crusaders and the fall of Acre highlighted the financial weak points in Salah ad-Deen's army. It is known that Salah ad-Deen did not pay sufficient attention to financial matters and he did not save money for the time of need, and he justified his generous spending for which he was known by saying that the circumstances of jihad dictated it. His highness spent the wealth of Egypt to conquer Syria, he spent the wealth of Syria to conquer Mesopotamia, and he spent the wealth of all his empire to conquer the coast.[441]

He quickly found himself in urgent need of money to pay for weapons, food supplies, fodder, equipment and troops' salaries. He was also unable to reduce the

burden of financial hardship among the troops stationed in Acre, who were forced to take loans; he was also unable to bring in new horses and weapons to replace those that had been worn out. The horses were exhausted by jihad and the equipment had lost its effectiveness, and had deteriorated beyond repair. They had run out of arrows: the quivers were empty.[442] Al-Isfahani added that there was a need during those years for quantities of weapons; the craftsmen and laborers could not meet this need.[443]

These are the most important causes that led to the fall of Acre**.**

After Acre

The fall of Acre had a great effect on the Muslims; even though it was not a knockout blow as such, this event weakened the Muslims greatly to such an extent that after that they resorted to passive resistance, one of the manifestations of which was their destruction of some citadels and castles so that they would not fall into enemy hands and then be turned into bases for attacking Muslim regions. It is true that the failure of Salah ad-Deen's army in the siege of Tyre is regarded as the beginning of decline for the Muslims, but this failure may ultimately be classified under the heading of failures of Salah ad-Deen's army, not under the heading of crusader victories. What that means is that what happened in Tyre was that the Muslims were unable to besiege one city; as for Acre, the defenders of the city were defeated and the Crusaders were victorious.[444]

The battle of Arsuf

Richard the Lionhearted set out a plan to regain control over the cities on the coast of Palestine from Acre to Ascalon before heading to the interior to take back Jerusalem. He left Acre on Thursday the 29th of Rajab 587 AH/ 22 August 1191 CE, at the head of the Crusader army, taking the coastal route where the right flank would

be protected and supplied by the crusader fleet. The journey was not easy: the Crusaders suffered from the intense heat and lack of provisions; the cities and villages through which they passed were already devastated and thus could not provide them with any sustenance; and the Muslims harassed their rearguard.[445]

In fact, Salah ad-Deen did not want to let the crusader army march in peace; he set out after them, for he was afraid that Richard the Lionhearted would move towards Ascalon and occupy it, using it as a base from which to cut off the communication lines between him and Jerusalem and Egypt, which had been providing him with a striking force.

After the Crusaders captured Haifa, which had been abandoned by its Muslim garrison, they resumed their march towards Caesarea. When they drew close to it on 7 Sha'ban/ 30 August, it looked as if an engagement between the two armies was about to take place; the Muslims had the advantage of free movement at a time when the Crusaders had cornered themselves between the Muslims and the sea.[446] Intense fighting was about to break out any day, and Salah ad-Deen tried to draw the Crusaders into the interior so that they would drift away from their route parallel to the coast and thus lose the advantage of the support of the fleet, but Richard the Lionhearted, who is regarded as a military genius, did not fall into Salah ad-Deen's trap; he continued on his course and he called his men to stay in order and not be diverted by Muslim provocation, thus causing Salah ad-Deen to lose the opportunity that he was always hoping for.[447]

The Crusaders captured Caesarea, which lay in ruins after the Muslims had destroyed it, so they did not benefit from it in terms of provisions or money. Then they continued their march until they reached the outskirts of Arsuf; there they moved towards the forest that lies to the north-east of the city, two miles from the sea, where the plain was wide and open enough for two armies to engage.[448] Salah ad-Deen, who had reached the forest before the enemy, decided to confront them in this place. So he mobilized his forces to prepare for a confrontation. When Richard the Lionhearted

realized what his plan was, he did two things: he sent word requesting help from the Crusaders in Acre; and he tried to settle matters with Salah ad-Deen by peaceful means.

It is most likely that Salah ad-Deen wanted to win time until the Turkmen forces that he had requested could arrive. So he pretended to accept the offer of negotiation and delegated his brother al-'Adil to negotiate on his behalf. The later met with Richard the Lionhearted on the 12th of Sha'ban/ fifth of September, but the negotiations foundered because of the stubborn attitude of Richard the Lionhearted, as he insisted that the Muslims give up the places they had conquered in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Al-'Adil immediately halted the negotiations, and the two parties had no option left but to fight.[449]

In the meantime, military help reached both sides and they prepared to fight. The battle began on the morning of Saturday, 14 Sha'ban 587 AH/ 7 September 1191. In the beginning, the Muslim horsemen surrounded the Crusaders and nearly finished them off, but Richard the Lionhearted stood firm and quickly reorganized his troops; the balance tipped in his favor and the Muslim ranks soon started to collapse.[450] When Salah ad-Deen saw what had befallen the Muslims, he shouted to them and urged them to fight in jihad for the sake of Allah; he himself stood firm in the battle, and when the people saw his courage and patience, they rallied around him, and fought the Crusaders heroically until they were able to defeat them and force them to retreat to their original positions.[451]

Destruction of Ascalon

After the battle of Arsuf, Richard headed towards Jaffa and seized it without any resistance because there were no Muslims there to defend it, according to Ibn al-Atheer,[452] and he began to rebuild its fortifications. As for Salah ad-Deen, he headed towards Ramlah where he held a council of war, consulting his general staff

as to what he should do. The emir 'Alam ad-Deen Sulayman ibn Jundur suggested that he should evacuate Ascalon and then destroy it, because the enemy's target after Acre and Jaffa was Ascalon and then Jerusalem, and because Jaffa, where Richard had camped, was located between Jerusalem and Ascalon and there was no way to protect both cities at the same time.[453]

The emirs who were calling for the destruction of Ascalon stated that defending the city would require a large garrison to be posted there, numbering some thirty thousand fighters, or at least twenty thousand.[454] They said to Salah ad-Deen,

> You have seen what happened to us yesterday. If the Franks come to Ascalon and we confront them, we can divert them from it; then they will undoubtedly fight us in order to expel us from it and take over the city. If that happens, we will be in the same situation as at Acre, and it will be even worse for us, because the enemy has become stronger by capturing acre and the weapons and other supplies in it, and we have grown weaker because of what we have lost.

Salah ad-Deen objected to this opinion and asked some of his commanders to enter Ascalon and organize its defenses, but they refused and replied to him in a harsh and rough manner that was not their usual way. However, this behavior became their habit from then onwards, as is apparent from the reports of al-Isfahani and Ibn al-Atheer, according to whom they told him, "If you want to protect it (Ascalon), then you should enter it with us or send one of your older sons, otherwise none of us will enter it lest there happen to us what happened to the people of Acre.[455]

Salah ad-Deen was unable to convince the emirs, hence he was very saddened and he stayed up all night worrying. Ibn Shaddad reported that the sultan only slept a little that night.

> ...and he called me to meet with him before dawn. So I came and he brought his son al-Malik al-Afdal and consulted him about the matter, then he said:

> By Allah, if I were to lose all my children that would be dearer to me than knocking down a single stone of Ascalon, but if Allah has decreed that and it could serve the interests of the Muslims, what can I do? [456]

Finally he was forced to accept the suggestion of his commanders, and he agreed to destroy it. They ordered the governor of the city to take charge of that himself. The governor wielded the pickaxe to destroy the city at dawn on the 19th of Sha'ban 587 AH/ 12th of September 1191 CE, then he mobilized the people, dividing the wall of the city among them by assigning each group with its leader a part of the wall, and he and his son took part in destroying it. He sent word to his brother al-Adil, who was staying in the city of Yabna near Ramlah and Jaffa, asking him to prolong the peace talks in the hopes that he would be able to finish destroying the city.[457] The people were very upset at what they were doing and began to mourn and weep, because Ascalon was a very beautiful city and was very dear to them; its walls were well fortified and it was well built, and people so liked to live there that it was called the 'bride of Syria', because of its beauty.[458] After its demolition was complete, he ordered that the ruins be set on fire. Its inhabitants left it and dispersed into Egypt and Syria. The process of demolishing and burning it lasted until the beginning of Ramadan 587 AH/ the end of September 1191 CE. After the destruction of Ascalon was complete, Yabna became the headquarters of al-Adil, but he went to Ramlah [459]

As for Richard, he was very busy establishing fortifications in Jaffa, and he did not take the risk of attacking Jerusalem, because if he were to set out towards that city, there was a strong possibility that Salah ad-Deen's army could cut off communications between him and the sea. So it was wise and rational to make sure of the fortifications of Jaffa before starting any further adventures, because loss would be more painful to the Crusaders' reputation if they captured the city and were then forced to leave it again.[460] Despite that, the delay clearly became too lengthy, and gave Salah ad-Deen the opportunity to reinforce his means of defending the holy city and reorganizing his army in preparation for the next round at the time when the

Crusaders were enjoying themselves and relaxing in Jaffa. Richard's concern for renovating and fortifying Jaffa was no less than Salah ad-Deen's concern for destroying Ascalon, because the Crusader leader realized that it was impossible to take Jerusalem without consolidating his control of Jaffa, especially now that Ascalon had been destroyed.[461]

Organization of the defenses of Jerusalem

Salah ad-Deen did not return to Jerusalem until later on, at the end of Dhul-Qa'dah 587 AH, but he sent al-Malik al-'Adil to it to check on it and see to its fortifications.[462] He preferred to stay in the areas close to it which the army had destroyed, such as the vicinity of Ramlah. His intention by doing so was to be close to the enemy and to Jerusalem at the same time, so that if the enemy thought of attacking Jerusalem, he could stop them and confront them in open battle.

On the sixth of Shawwal, Salah ad-Deen gathered his senior emirs and commanders and consulted them as to what he should do if the enemy set out, as many reports about them showed that they had agreed to set out towards the Muslim camp. It was unanimously agreed that they should stay where they were, and if the Franks came out they would meet them.[463] In fact, two of the Crusaders who had been granted safety came to his camp and told him that the enemy had decided to set out the day after next. Then one of the Muslims, who had been a prisoner of the Crusaders and had escaped from captivity, arrived and told them that the enemy was intending to set out.

At that point Salah ad-Deen began to fortify Jerusalem, and he sent word to different cities asking for men to do these tasks, and the Sultan and his sons and emirs also worked on it, along with the qadis and scholars.[464] A large group, estimated at 50 Hijazi men, arrived from Mosul for the purpose of cutting stones to strengthen the walls and ditches of Jerusalem.[465] When this work was completed, a caller was

ordered to announce to the troops in the camp to get ready and set up the banners, to confront the enemy.

At this point the Ayubid army suffered a terrible setback with the death of the most prominent of its commanders, namely Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar, in Mesopotamia. The sultan grieved deeply, but he concealed the news from the troops so that this news would not reach the enemy at that critical moment.[466] The brave commander and emir Husam Muhammad ibn 'Umar ibn Lajeen, the nephew of Salah ad-Deen, also died at the age of 19 of a sickness that had befallen him, on the same day that Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar died. That was 19 Ramadan 587 AH, in the autumn of 1191 CE.[467]

It is possible that news of the Ayubid army's preparations reached Richard, but he did not want to meet them on the battlefield. Furthermore, the king maintained his insistence that the principle of negotiations should form the basis of the relationship between the two sides, as the events of the following days showed. As soon as winter 587 AH/ 1191 CE began, the two sides halted preparations and no confrontation or meeting on the battlefield occurred between them. When the rain became very heavy, Salah ad-Deen went to Jerusalem, and the Crusaders returned to Jaffa; some of them went to Acre. Richard continued sending envoys to Salah ad-Deen, urging him to make peace.

We find that Salah ad-Deen was not very enthusiastic about a peace deal, but he wanted to benefit from the atmosphere of negotiation during the season in which his emirs' armies had returned to their homelands. Hence he asked al-Malik al-'Adil once again to stall Richard until the troops had come back from the provinces. Al-Malik al-'Adil left Jerusalem at the beginning of Rabee' I 588 AH/ March 1192 CE,[468] but the negotiations did not lead anywhere, whereupon some groups of Crusaders occupied some cities and fortresses whose defenses were weak, such as Ascalon, which Richard had rebuilt[469] and made into the strongest citadel on the entire Palestinian coast.[470] They took over the fortress of Darum, which Salah ad-Deen had

previously ordered to be destroyed, and when Richard took it over he punished its defenders severely[471] They also occupied fortresses and other minor sites along the Palestinian coast.[472]

Negotiations between al-'Adil and Richard

The negotiations began on 18 Shawwal 588 AH/ 9 November 1192 CE, when Richard the Lionhearted sent a message to Salah ad-Deen from his camp near Bazoor, asking him to enter into negotiations to reach an agreement because fighting had destroyed many of the forces on both sides and ruined the land.[473] These negotiations, which Salah ad-Deen delegated to his brother al-Adil, soon faltered, however, because of Richard the Lionhearted's insistence on taking Jerusalem and the region west of the Jordan with all its fortresses, in addition to holding on to Ascalon, and he wanted the return of the ‘True Cross'. All of these conditions were rejected by Salah ad-Deen, so a few days later Richard the Lionhearted proposed new terms, as follows:

1. Al-Malik al-'Adil, the brother of Salah ad-Deen, was to marry the Princess Joanna, the sister of Richard the Lionhearted and widow of the King of Sicily.
2. Salah ad-Deen would give to his brother everything that was under his control in Palestine, and Richard the Lionhearted would give his sister all the cities of the coast that were under his control, including Ascalon.
3. The couple would live in Jerusalem, and the Christians would be able to come and visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.
4. The Christians would regain possession of the ‘True Cross'.
5. Prisoners would be released by both sides.
6. Some villages in Palestine would be given back to the Templars and Hospitallers, but not the fortresses.[474]

Al-Adil welcomed this offer and thought that it was a good idea, and perhaps he aimed to unite the Muslims and Crusaders in Syria under his rule and bring about peace in that and on the basis of ties of love and marriage between the two sides.[475] Salah ad-Deen thought that this offer was some kind of joke, but he pretended to be happy to agree to it. It seems that his acceptance of this venture was because he believed that the King of England would never be able to carry out this plan and that this was a mockery and plot on his part[476] It quickly became apparent that the obstacle that prevented implementation of this plan came from Joanna herself, who was alarmed to hear of this deal and said that there was nothing that would make her marry a Muslim man, which prompted Richard the Lionhearted to ask al-'Adil to convert to Christianity in order to overcome this obstacle, but al-'Adil refused.[477]

Actually, the fact that these three statesmen accepted this plan only indicates that they were becoming closer politically and culturally in Syria, a century after the Crusades began, in addition to the spirit of tolerance which had clearly begun to grow in the attitude and behavior of both parties. This is indicated by the fact that King Richard the Lionhearted met with al-'Adil at a splendid feast that was held on 18 Shawwal 588 AH, then they parted after the bond of friendship had become strong between them. The English king expressed his desire to meet Salah ad-Deen, but al-Adil refused his request and said, "If kings meet, there will be greater enmity between them after that, but if they reach a peace deal beforehand then the meeting will be good."[478]

From then on Richard the Lionhearted became preoccupied with solving the Crusaders' problems, especially the fierce dispute between Conrad de Montferrat and Guy de Lusignan.[479]

Salah ad-Deen's political acumen and attitude towards the war

At the time when negotiations were ongoing with Richard the Lionhearted, Salah ad-Deen received Renaud of Sidon as an envoy from Conrad de Montferrat, who offered him an alliance in return for the acquisition of Sidon and Beirut; he even suggested that Acre should be given back to the Muslims. He was aiming to divert the course of negotiations towards his own interests.[480] When Richard the Lionhearted found out about the actions of Conrad de Montferrat, he did his utmost to bring him back to the Crusader ranks, but his efforts met with failure and Conrad de Montferrat renewed his attempts to reach an understanding with Salah ad-Deen.

Salah ad-Deen held a meeting with his general staff to decide with which of the two crusader parties he should continue negotiations. Al-Malik al-'Adil and some of the emirs were inclined to continue negotiations with the English king, because he was going to leave the East, whereas Conrad de Montferrat was intending to stay and settle in Palestine, so he decided to accept the suggestions of Richard the Lionhearted in principle.[481] Whatever the case concerning the attempts to reach a deal between the Muslims and the Crusaders and what happened during that period of fighting between them, although it was limited, there was no reason for trying to draw closer. In the meantime bad news reached Richard the Lionhearted from the West. His brother John had revolted against him, which meant that he had to return to his homeland quickly. Nonetheless, he did not want to leave the East before solving the internal problems of the Crusaders and reaching an understanding with the Muslims.

As for the internal problems, they were solved with the assassination of Conrad de Montferrat by the Assassins on the 13 Rabee' II 588 AH/28 April 1192 CE.[482] Richard the Lionhearted got rid of a stubborn opponent and gained authority over Tyre, and Henri de Champagne chose what was offered to him of the Kingdom of Jerusalem after marrying Isabella, the widow of Conrad and heiress to the throne of the kingdom.[483] As for Richard's problems with the Muslim side, they required a

different kind of solution, based on strength. He hoped to recapture Jerusalem, and he captured the Citadel of ad-Darum on 9 Jumada 1/ 23 May, after resistance on the part of the garrison, but he failed to capture Majdal Yafa, so he headed towards Ascalon, from which he set out towards Jerusalem, and he arrived in Bayt Nubah on 27 Jumada 1/ 11 June.[484] Salah ad-Deen for his part prepared to resist him, and headed towards Jerusalem.

Salah ad-Deen's preparations to defend Jerusalem

Salah ad-Deen instantly made arrangements to defend the holy city, including the following:

1. He divided its walls among his commanders and equipped them with what they needed to defend them.
2. He sabotaged the water sources surrounding the city, so that there would be nothing left to drink around Jerusalem at all, which would make the enemy very thirsty if they tried to attack it.
3. He summoned the forces from other regions, so al-Malik al-Afdal came with the eastern troops, Badr ad-Deen Daldarim al-Yarooqi came with the Turkmen troops, and Izz ad-Deen ibn al-Muqaddim came too.[485]
4. The Muslim horsemen launched swift and sudden raids against the Crusader camp.[486]

Salah ad-Deen held a meeting in Jerusalem on 19 Jumada II/ beginning of July with his general staff to consult them about the best way of defending the city against the Crusader hordes. The Sultan asked Al Qadi Ibn Shaddad to open the meeting, so he began by speaking of the virtues of jihad, and called upon them to follow the example of the noble Messenger. They were all pleased with his words, then they fell silent and it was as if you could hear a pin drop. After a short while, Salah ad-Deen began to speak. He told them:

> The blood of the Muslims and their wealth and their children are your responsibility. No one among the Muslims can stand up to this enemy except you. If you turn your horses around and flee, the enemy will roll up these lands like a scroll and you will be to blame. You are the ones who took on this responsibility and you have consumed the wealth of the state treasury. The Muslims of all lands are depending on you. Was-Salam.[487]

The emir Sayf ad-Deen al-Mashtoob answered him, saying:

> Your Highness, we are your Mamelukes and slaves, and you are the one who bestowed upon us, made us great, gave to us and made us independent of means. We have nothing but our souls, and they are in your hands. By Allah, not one of us will ever stop supporting you until he dies.

The others agreed with what al-Mashtoob said. The Sultan was happy with that, but the emirs quickly retracted their statement the following day, according to Abul-Hayja'. They declared that it would be a mistake to corner themselves inside Jerusalem, because they were afraid that the same thing would happen to them as had happened to the people of Acre, and they thought that they should meet them outside the walls of Jerusalem. They said, "If Allah decrees that we should defeat them, we will take over the rest of their lands, and if it is otherwise — meaning defeat — then the troops will be safe even if Jerusalem falls."[488]

Salah ad-Deen was not convinced by the emirs' answer because Jerusalem was very important to him, a responsibility so great that even mountains could not bear it. Indeed they replied to him in the harsh manner that they had been using for some time, as we mentioned above. It seems that the conflict between elements of his troops and his commanders, who were Kurds and Turkmen, had become stronger and reached a serious level. That was apparent in their words when they said, "If you want us to do that, then you or one of your family should be with us (inside Jerusalem), so

that we can rally behind him, otherwise the Kurds will not submit to the Turks and the Turks will not submit to the Kurds."[489]

In fact, Salah ad-Deen found himself in an unenviable position. Ibn Shaddad clearly sensed the helplessness of the situation when he asked him to delegate his affairs to Allah and to acknowledge his helplessness before Him with regard to what he was facing, and asked Allah to respond to his prayer. The historian saw him when he was praying, with tears falling onto his prayer mat when he prostrated, and he spent Friday weighed down with worry.

Then his intelligence agents came and told him that the Crusaders had decided to halt their march towards Jerusalem.[490] Ibn al-Atheer says that Richard asked the old Crusaders, the Syrian Franks, to describe to him the location of the city of Jerusalem and its fortifications that Salah ad-Deen had built around it. So they described to him everything that he asked about. When he had got a precise idea about the location of the city, he said, "This is a city that cannot be besieged so long as Salah ad-Deen is still alive and the Muslims are united."[491]

This attitude caused a split among the Crusaders, as some wanted to attack Jerusalem whilst others called for a halt; Richard was with the latter group, whereas the French were with the former group, when they said, "We have only come from our homelands because of Jerusalem, and we will not go back without capturing it.

Richard replied to them, "The water in this place has been spoiled, and there is no water left around it at all, so from whence shall we drink?"

They said, "We will drink the water of Nuqoo'[492] — which was located a league from Jerusalem —and we will be content to drink once a day.[493]

The Crusaders decided to put the matter to a vote and let the majority rule, and it was decided to stop the attack, so they moved on towards Ramlah.[494] The sultan was very relieved about that.[495]

The Battle of Jaffa

The Battle of Jaffa, is regarded as the last serious armed confrontation between the Muslims and the Third Crusade. Richard the Lionhearted had used this city as his base after his victory over Salah ad-Deen at Arsuf, because of its proximity to Jerusalem.[496] Whilst negotiations were ongoing between the two sides, Muslim and Crusader, with regard to a peace deal, Richard the Lionhearted left Jaffa for Acre, having made plans to set sail for his homeland if a deal was not signed with the Muslims. According to this plan he would march towards Beirut and then set sail from there to Europe.[497]

This action gave Salah ad-Deen an opportunity, and he made the most of it to organize a campaign against Jaffa. It is possible that he was aiming to achieve four goals:

- He wanted to capture Jaffa in the absence of the English king.
- He hoped to achieve a decisive victory over the Crusaders in Jaffa.
- He was attempting to raise the morale of his troops.
- He wanted to prevent Richard the Lionhearted from occupying Beirut.[498]

As soon as Salah ad-Deen approached Jaffa on 15 Rajab 588 AH/ 27 July 1192 CE, an urgent message was sent to Richard the Lionhearted, bringing him the news of the attack on Jaffa. He hastened to defend it and save it. He decided to approach it by sea, supported by the Pisans and Genoans, as well as sending an army by land. The winds were against him, however, and he was detained at the head of Mount Carmel. His land army did not want to reach Jaffa before their king arrived, so they slowed down their march.[499]

These military developments gave the Muslims a good opportunity to liberate Jaffa, and in fact they entered the city on Friday 18 Rajab/ 30 July, after bitter fighting with its garrison and laying siege to its citadel, so the Crusaders were forced

to seek a peace deal. At the time appointed for the handover of the citadel to the Muslims, Richard the Lionhearted landed and launched a counter-attack; he managed to enter the city and force the Muslims out, and Salah ad-Deen withdrew his army from the city.[500] Richard's illness had gotten worse however, and he sent messengers repeatedly to Salah ad-Deen asking him for fruits and ice. His sickness also made him crave pears and plums, and Salah ad-Deen, with his tolerant attitude, supplied him with these.[501]

Richard the Lionhearted renewed his offer of a peace deal to Salah ad-Deen, motivated by several factors:

- He was suffering from a worsening sickness, and his health had deteriorated noticeably to the point that he was unable to lead his forces and plan soundly.
- He had received disturbing news from England that his brother John was up to no good, which meant that he had to return quickly.
- Military support from Europe was cut off.
- He despaired of taking back Jerusalem.
- The Crusaders were beset by exhaustion, and his nephew Henry and other religious and military groups demonstrated their lack of confidence in his policies.[502]

Salah ad-Deen indicated the reasons that prompted him to accept the peace deal, which included:

- There was ongoing conflict between the Kurds and Turks in his army.
- The troops were fed up and were showing open defiance.
- The enemy's strength had increased.
- He feared a dispute within his family after his death, and that they would neglect the public interest.[503]

Negotiations and the Treaty of Ramlah

The negotiations with the Franks continued for 15 months, and it took 42 delegations and much starting and stopping of negotiations. The one who always initiated it was the King of England, Richard.[504] The negotiations passed through six distinct stages before they were crowned with the peace deal.

The first stage

Only 10 days after the arrival of King Richard, he hastened to send an envoy to Salah ad-Deen. The envoy was permitted to go to al-Malik al-'Adil first, who then brought him to Salah ad-Deen. The message that Richard sent may be summed up as follows: the English King was asking to meet with Salah ad-Deen. When Salah ad-Deen learned of that, he responded without hesitation, "Kings do not meet until after they have made a truce."

As Richard wanted to meet Salah ad-Deen, it was essential to agree upon a truce before meeting, and it was essential to have an interpreter who was trusted by both sides, who could understand what each side was saying. If a truce was agreed upon, he would meet the English king.

The envoy went back to Richard, and returned a second time to speak with al-Malik al-'Adil. The matter ended with an agreement that al-'Adil would meet King Richard in Murj 'Akka, with the troops around them and accompanied by an interpreter. The envoy returned, but he was delayed for a few days because of illness. It is most likely that Richard was the one who was sick, not the envoy. According to another report, the Crusader leaders rejected the idea of a peace treaty with the Muslims Saying that it posed a risk to Christianity. The envoy came back again and apologized for the delay because of sickness. Among the things that the envoy said was that kings, when they become close to one another, exchange gifts and he added,

"I have something that is befitting for the sultan, and I shall ask for permission to deliver it.

Al-Malik al-'Adil agreed to that, on condition that a gift would be sent in return to the English king. The envoy accepted that and said, "The gift is some eagles brought from across the sea; they have grown weak, so it would be good if you offered us some birds and chickens, so that we may feed them to them and they will become stronger and we will bring them to you."

Al-Malik al-'Adil joked with him, saying, "The king needs some fowl and chicken and he wants to take it from us with this excuse." The talks stopped for a number of days, then the envoy came back, accompanied by a Muslim Maghrebi man who had been captured and held by the Crusaders for a long time. This man was a gift to the sultan, who accepted that and set him free, and sent the envoy back honoured.[505]

The historian Ibn Shaddad summed up the real reasons that lay behind the exchange of envoys, saying:

> The Crusaders' aim in sending these messages repeatedly was to find out how strong the morale and resolve of the Muslims were, and the aim of the Muslims in receiving these envoys was to find out the same about the Crusaders.[506]

The second stage

On 9 Jumada II 587 AH/ 4 July 1191 CE, during the fighting between the Muslims and the Crusaders in Acre, when the Muslim garrison decided to give up fighting and sent word to Richard, he rejected the offer from the garrison of the city, but on the same day he sent three envoys to Salah ad-Deen asking for fruits and ice. The envoys stated that the Hospitaller Grandmaster Gamier de Nablus was coming the next day to talk about a peace deal. Salah ad-Deen honored the envoys and

admitted them to the marketplace of the camp, which they saw; they returned on the same day to their own camp. That was followed by the surrender of the city of Acre to the Crusaders, and Salah ad-Deen's reception of the crusader envoys concerning the handover of Acre. This aspect has to do with the city of Acre only. We have explained above that this incident did not affect the foundation of the general peace deal that we are discussing here.[507]

The third stage

The third stage of negotiations took place prior to the battle of Arsuf. In 11 Sha'ban 587 AH/3 September 1191 CE, some Crusader envoys came, asking to speak to al-Malik al-'Adil, and they were allowed to do so. In essence, what the envoys said was that the fighting has gone on for too long, and too many men and heroes had been killed on both sides. They had come only to support the Franks of the coast, so if Salah ad-Deen were to make a peace deal with them, each party would go back whence it had come.

Salah ad-Deen realized the implications of what these envoys proposed, so he wrote to his brother al-'Adil asking him to prolong the talks with the envoys until Muslim reinforcements came. On the following day, al-Malik al-'Adil met with the English King Richard, and Humphrey of Torun acted as interpreter. Al-'Adil asked Richard about his conditions for the peace treaty. Richard replied, "All the land should return to us and you should go back to your country."

What he meant was that things should go back to the way they were before the battle of Hattin. Al-Malik al-'Adil did not accept these conditions and he spoke harshly to the English king in response; an argument took place that led to the English king and his entourage departing. Subsequently, the battle of Arsuf took place in which the Crusaders were victorious, even though it was not decisive. Eight days later, whilst the Crusader forces under the leadership of Richard were in the city of

Jaffa, and Salah ad-Deen was in the process of destroying the city of Ascalon, on 19 Sha'ban 587 AH/11 September 1191, a messenger came to Salah ad-Deen from al-Malik al-'Adil telling him that the Crusaders were talking about a peace deal, and that their conditions included the return of all the coastal land. Salah ad-Deen asked his brother al-'Adil to reopen negotiations because he could see that the Muslims were tired and fed up with fighting. He also asked him again to prolong the negotiations, so that he could complete the demolition of Ascalon.

During the following days there occurred an incident which had implications for the history of the Third Crusade. In 12 Ramadan 587 AH/ 3 October 1191, envoys arrived from Conrad de Montferrat, 'the Marquis'. Conrad sensed that the Crusaders wanted to capture Tyre, so he split from the troops of the Third Crusade, and sent word to Salah ad-Deen asking for a peace deal. He offered a cessation of hostilities, in return for which Salah ad-Deen would cede Sidon and Beirut to him. Conrad in his turn would show open hostility towards Richard, and with his own forces he promised to besiege and capture Acre. It was known that Conrad was crafty and envious; hence Salah ad-Deen wanted to know if his intentions were good, so he asked him initially to lay siege to Acre and capture it, and to release the Muslim prisoners in Acre and Tyre. Only after that would Salah ad-Deen handover Sidon and Beirut.

Later that same day, the envoys of King Richard arrived to talk again about the issue of a peace deal. Richard had heard about the envoys sent by Conrad de Montferrat to Salah ad-Deen, so he returned to Acre to try to cancel the idea of a peace deal that Conrad had initiated, and also to win Conrad back to the Crusader ranks. No doubt, what happened made Salah ad-Deen realize the extent of the division between the local Crusaders and the forces of the Third Crusade. Richard also realized that what had happened on Conrad's part was to be regarded as a blow against him and the forces of the Third Crusade, which had suffered and gone through

a great deal to defend the local Crusaders. All of that had the greatest impact on the course of negotiations and the conditions stipulated in the following stages.[508]

The fourth stage

On 24 Ramadan 587 AH/ 15 October 1191, an envoy arrived from the English King Richard, bringing a horse as a gift to al-Malik al-'Adil in return for a gift that al-Malik al-'Adil had sent to him. This was the beginning of the negotiations of the fourth stage. Two days later, Richard sent word asking al-Malik al-'Adil to send his envoy to talk to him with regard to a peace deal. Al-'Adil responded to his request and sent his envoy to meet King Richard. The king said:

> The Muslims and the Franks are exhausted; the country is ruined and is no longer under the authority of either of the two parties. Property and lives have been destroyed on both sides. This matter has run its course and now there is no talk about anything except Jerusalem, the Cross and the cities. Jerusalem is our place of worship and we will never give it up, even if not one of us is left. As for the other cities, whatever is beyond the River Jordan should be returned to us. As for the Cross, it is wood that has no value to you, but to us it is of great importance, so the Sultan should do us a favor and return it to us; then we will bring about peace and be relieved from these ongoing troubles.

When al-Malik al-'Adil heard of what Richard was asking for, he in turn, conveyed it to Salah ad-Deen, who said in response to the English king:

> Jerusalem is the same for us as it is for you. It is more important for us than it is for you, for it is the place to which our Prophet (SAW) was taken on his Night Journey and it is the meeting place of the angels. It cannot be imagined that we would give it up, and we cannot even utter such words among the Muslims. As for the other cities, they are also originally ours, and your capture of them is something that happened later, because of the weak state in which the Muslims were at that time. As for the cross, destroying it is a great

> act of worship for us, and it is not permissible for us to give it away for nothing, except for a purpose which serves the interests of Islam and outweighs that.[509]

Three days later, the envoy of King Richard came back from Jaffa with a new suggestion, which may be summed up as the idea that al-Malik al-'Adil should marry King Richard's sister Joanna, the former queen of Sicily, and the capital of their kingdom should be Jerusalem; Richard would give her the coastal lands that he had conquered, from Acre to Jaffa, Ascalon and so on, and he would make her queen of the coast. Salah ad-Deen for his part was to give his brother al-'Adil all the lands of the coast and make that his possession, in addition to whatever other lands and fiefs al-'Adil already possessed; he was also to handover to him the 'True Cross'. The villages and fortresses would belong to the Templars and Hospitallers, prisoners would be released on both sides, and the King of England would return to his homeland. When Salah ad-Deen heard the suggestions of the English king, he hastened to agree, believing that Richard would not agree to it. This was a trick and plot on his part, in other words a kind of joke. When Joanna heard of her brother's suggestion that she should marry al-Malik al-'Adil, a Muslim, she got angry and swore the most solemn vow that she would never do that. Hence Richard suggested that al-'Adil should convert to Christianity. Al-'Adil refused to agree to that, but he left the door to further negotiations open.[510]

The fifth stage

During the fifth stage, there were twofold, parallel negotiations. The first line had to do with the negotiations with the envoys of Conrad de Montferrat, and the second line had to do with the negotiations with the English King Richard. This stage began on the 15 Shawwal 587 AH/ 5 November 1191, when Reynald Grenier of Sidon, arrived as an envoy from Conrad. It may be understood from the historical texts that the negotiations with Conrad had not stopped. The Muslims received him

warmly and hosted him until arrangements were made for him to meet Salah ad-Deen. After four days, Salah ad-Deen met Reynald Grenier and showed him great honour and hospitality.

The Islamic sources describe Conrad de Montferrat as one of the toughest of the Crusaders and one of the most experienced in war, a man of deep insight who knew how to plan. Conrad's offer may be summed up as follows: the Muslims were to give up Sidon to him; in return, he would make an alliance with the Muslims against the forces of the Third Crusade and declare enmity towards them. Salah ad-Deen listened to the suggestions from the envoy, and promised him that he would give his response later on.

On the same day that Salah ad-Deen met the envoy of Conrad, in the evening, Humphrey of Toron arrived as the envoy of the English King Richard. Salah ad-Deen met him and the Crusader envoy presented his suggestions. It may be noted that the war was still ongoing during these negotiations. In 4 Rabee' I 588 AH/ 20 March 1192, al-'Adil set out from Jerusalem with a specific offer for a peace deal, which would allow the Crusaders to take control of Beirut, if they insisted on their demands, on the condition that it should remain in ruins and not be rebuilt. The 'True Cross' would be handed over to them, a Frankish priest would be appointed in charge of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the gates of Jerusalem would be open to the Crusaders to visit, on condition that they did not carry arms.[511]

The motive for these new suggestions was that the Muslims were suffering from exhaustion due to the ongoing campaigns, a heavy burden of debt, and being far away from their homelands. King Richard's desire for a peace deal and to go back to his homeland only increased when an envoy reached his camp from England, telling him that Prince John, the brother of King Richard, was trying to seize power and gain control of England, and asked him in the name of the senior minister of England to return to his kingdom. This news worried Richard.

In addition to that, around 20 March 1192/4 Rabee' I 588, Hugh, the Duke of Burgundy, who was the commander of the remnants of the French forces, summoned them back from Richard's camp, because the king was not supplying these forces with the equipment necessary for fighting. The following month, Conrad de Montferrat was assassinated, as we have explained previously. Thus another stage of negotiations began, in different circumstances than those of previous stages. Conrad had disappeared from the Crusader political stage, and the situation in England had become critical; the English king had to end the war and go back to his own country.[512]

The sixth stage

The sixth and final stage of the negotiations was lengthy and complicated, and lasted nearly 5 months.[513] On the 22 Sha'ban 588 AH/ 2 September 1192CE, Salah ad-Deen's envoys brought their final offer, which was then signed by Richard the Lionhearted. These envoys also wrote their names beside his as witnesses to the treaty, which stated the following:

- The Crusaders would have the coastal cities, from Tyre in the north to Jaffa in the south, and including Caesarea, Haifa and Arsuf.
- Ascalon would revert to Muslim control, provided that it was demolished.
- The Muslims and Crusaders would divide Lod and Ramlah each evenly between them.
- The Christians would have the right to visit Jerusalem freely.
- Both Muslims and Christians would have the right to pass through the land of the other party.
- This treaty was to last for three years and three months.

Salah ad-Deen stipulated that the land of the Assassins should be included in the treaty, meaning that the regions controlled by them were to be regarded as part of the Muslim territory that was included in the treaty. In return, Richard the

Lionhearted stipulated that the principalities of both Antioch and Tripoli were to be included.[514]

When the truce was concluded, Salah ad-Deen gave the Crusaders permission to visit Jerusalem. The Muslim troops mixed with the Crusader troops, and a group of Muslims went to Jaffa seeking trade, whilst many Crusaders came to Jerusalem on pilgrimage. Salah ad-Deen sent guards to protect them, and his aim in doing so was to let them enjoy their visit and then go back to their country.[515]

Outcome of the Third Crusade and the most important events before the death of Salah ad-Deen

With the departure of Richard the Lionhearted to his homeland, after the Treaty of Ramlah, the Third Crusade came to an end. There would never be such a mass of kings and princes heading to the Islamic East again. Even though Western Europe was united in this task, and prepared a campaign which was one of the largest crusades, the results it achieved were minimal. What happened with regard to saving Tyre from the hands of Conrad de Montferrat and rescuing Tripoli from the Sicilian fleet, took place before the Third Crusade arrived. All they contributed was to capture Acre and the coastal cities as far as Jaffa, in addition to the island of Cyprus. If one important thing was achieved, it was that they had managed to put a stop to the activities of Salah ad-Deen in liberating other cities.[516]

Historians regard the Third Crusade as a failed campaign in the history of the Crusades, because it did not achieve results commensurate with the great efforts put into it, let alone the fact that it did not succeed in achieving the goal for which it had been brought into being, which was to take back Jerusalem from the Muslims.

The military and political circumstances that this campaign faced played a role in its ultimate failure, because it was not possible for an army that was devoid of

united leadership, divided by political rivalry and fighting in a foreign land, to attain victory over armies that were united by one goal and one leadership and which had all rallied under the leadership of one man such as Salah ad-Deen.

One of the factors that led to failure was the fact that the kings of England and France brought with them to the east the local political rivalry that existed between them, despite their agreement, before they had left Western Europe, to overlook it.

The spiritual nature of the campaign was largely absent, because in contrast to the First Crusade, the pope did not play a large role in organizing this one. The Third Crusade was mostly of a political nature, with all its problems and contradictions operating in the background.[517]

The Islamic front remained cohesive after the disappearance of religious and political disputes, even though the Muslims' military power began to decline because they were so worn down and exhausted. The Islamic forces had had to carry out ongoing military operations for three years and in unusual circumstances; in addition to this, tensions had arisen, which Salah ad-Deen dealt with wisely. Of these, we may mention the dispute that took place between the Turkish and Kurdish elements in his army.[518] Were it not for the mercy of Allah, followed by the leadership of Salah ad-Deen, there could have been great and unimaginable losses. Salah ad-Deen's strong leadership and the steadfastness of the Muslims in the face of this fierce campaign caused frustration to the kings of Europe and made their plans fail, and they were unable to take back Jerusalem. This is regarded as a great victory for Salah ad-Deen, despite the losses sustained by the Muslims.

This Crusade was distinguished by unprecedented understanding between the European Christians and the Muslims of the East. There were strong lines of communication between both parties, which led to the suggestion of a peace deal, and the sending of fruits and ice to Richard the Lionhearted during his illness, and to

sending Salah ad-Deen's private physician to treat him.[519] From this interaction the following resulted in the life of Europe:

a) They transmitted from the Muslims a great deal of science and knowledge which was prevalent among them during that period. The Muslims had written books containing many new and innovative ideas, laying down the foundations of these sciences.

b) They also transmitted from the Muslims many handicrafts and arts, such as the manufacture of textiles, dyes, enamel, metals and glass. They also transmitted from them the art of architecture, which had a profound effect on the industrial, commercial and artistic life of Europe. According to Gustav le Bon, "The influence of the Crusaders on manufacturing and the arts was no less than that… From the Muslims, Europe learned the manufacture of silk cloth and advanced methods of dyeing. And architecture soon changed completely."[520]

c) Western civilization was influenced by the Islamic civilization to such a significant extent that it led to the growth and flourishing of Western civilization. Were it not for the Crusades, the growth of civilization in Europe would have been delayed as long as only Allah knows. Fair-minded Orientalists admitted this fact before the Muslim historians mentioned it.[521]

Gustave Le Bon writes:

> If we examine the long-term impact of the Crusades, it will become clear to us the importance of this impact. The West's contact with the East lasted for two centuries. The time during which the Crusaders were present in Muslim lands was one of the greatest factors that led to the development of civilization in Europe. Thus the Crusades produced a different result to that at which they were aimed. As for the East, it was enjoying a prosperous civilization thanks to the Muslims, whereas the West was sinking in an ocean of savagery.[522]

That is how Europe benefited from the Crusades, even though it suffered huge losses and fatal defeats, and it did not achieve what it came for, which was regaining Jerusalem from the Muslims. Nevertheless, it made all these great gains that revived Europe and quickly brought civilization to it.[523] As for the Muslims, the Crusaders did not have anything that they could benefit from, because in their conduct they were like savages; they would rob friends and enemies alike, and slaughter them indiscriminately.[524] The Crusader Bishop of Acre, Jacques de Vitry, described the invaders as follows, "Nothing of them were seen in the Promised Land except heretics, thieves, adulterers, murderers, traitors, jokers, promiscuous monks and prostituted nuns."[525] An army of prostitutes was brought with the Crusade specifically to entertain the fighters; that was not limited to the Crusader soldiers only; rather it went further to include immoral and evil people among the Muslims.[526] Ibn Katheer wrote:

> Frankish reinforcements were coming by sea constantly. Frankish women came with the intention of fighting, and some came with the intention of comforting the strangers in a strange land, so that they might find some comfort, service and physical enjoyment, because that way they would persevere with fighting and put up with being away from home. Even many immoral Muslims joined them because of these women, and this became a matter that was very well known.[527]

The historian Abu Shamah mentioned that during the Crusader siege of Acre:

> A boat arrived, on board which were three hundred pretty Frankish women, who had come from different islands beyond the sea and had been asked to offer their services, so they went to a foreign land to offer relief to those who were strangers in a strange land. Their aim was to offer themselves for free to those wretched people, and they would not refuse any man at all. They believed that there was no better act of charity or worship than this, especially if they offered their services to one who was single in a strange land.[528]

He also commented:

> Women came out to take part in the Third Crusade. Some of them came out wearing armor or men's clothing to take part themselves in the battles, because they believed that this was an act of worship.[529] Others came out to offer relief to the strangers, and to bring joy to the Crusaders by making themselves available to the soldiers so that they would not feel tired and fed up.[530]

Salah ad-Deen implemented the principle from fiqh of weighing the pros and cons. The Treaty of Ramlah came about because of economic and military circumstances which made Salah ad-Deen accept it, even though he knew that the Franks were in a weak situation. According to the estimates of his men and consultants, the departure of the Frankish military forces to their homelands was in their own interests, and their staying would lead to the arrival of new forces from Europe which would cause harm to the Muslims.[531]

If we examine the history of treaties, agreements and truces that the Muslims formed with the Franks, such as those made by 'Imad ad-Deen, Noor ad-Deen Mahmood Zangi and Salah ad-Deen, we will see that they had some specific aims: principally, to give the Muslim forces the opportunity to prepare themselves and increase their fighting capabilities in readiness for the next round or rounds against the Franks. Most of these agreements came about at the request of the Franks themselves and the Muslim leaders would not hesitate to sign them. They served an interest for them: to fight other principalities with whom there was no peace deal; to make things easy for the Muslims and give them freedom of movement and travel between Egypt and Syria; to make it easy for trade caravans to travel across Arab regions; or to provide security and reassurance to pilgrim caravans so that they could perform Hajj without being exposed to danger. As for the last peace deal, which was the peace deal of Ramlah, it was given a three-year limit, and Salah ad-Deen and his consultants found that there were interests to be served by accepting this deal. These

interests included the health problems that had begun to affect the soldiers, in addition to the battle fatigue and exhaustion that they were suffering. They thought that this was an opportunity to prepare for the coming rounds of battles.[532] Ibn Shaddad noted:

> The sultan thought that there was an interest to be served because the people were overwhelmed with exhaustion, lack of provisions and homesickness. So he wanted to give them time to rest, to forget the situation in which they found themselves and to prosper again. He loaded Jerusalem with whatever weapons he could, and focused on building it up.[533]

Ibn Shaddad also mentions that Salah ad-Deen was not happy with this peace deal, but he saw that it was in the interests of the Muslims because the troops were so fatigued and had begun to show disobedience. Ibn Shaddad thought that the peace deal was in the interests of the Muslims, because Salah ad-Deen died shortly thereafter; if his death had coincided with intense fighting between the Muslims and Franks, then Islam would have been in danger. Therefore, this treaty was no less than a blessing.[534]

The murder of Richard the Lionhearted: After the Treaty of Ramlah, Richard set sail from Acre, heading back to his homeland. His ship sank at sea, but he managed to reach the coast safely, then he entered the land of Austria in disguise, until he was recognized in one of the inns near the city of Vienna on 11 December 1192. He was taken to Leopold, the Duke of Austria, who accused him of killing the Marquis Conrad de Montferrat. The Duke wanted to sell him to his enemies, but he soon handed him over to Henry VI, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and he remained in captivity until he paid a large ransom.[535] Richard the Lionhearted was released in March 1194, and he continued to fight his princely rivals until he was assassinated — by an arrow —and died on 26 March 1199.[536]

After the demolition of Ascalon, a letter arrived from the deputies in Damascus, attached to which was a letter from Baghdad, from the embassy of the

caliph, which contained three main points. The first was an objection to al-Malik al-Muzaffar's going to Baktamar; the second was an objection to Muzaffar ad-Deen's capture of Hasan ibn Qafjaq and an order to return him to Karkhani; the third was an order to send Al Qadi al-Fadil to them to discuss matters with him. The sultan responded to the first by saying, "We did not tell him to do that.” He responded to the second by noting that it was well known that Ibn Qafjaq had spread mischief in the land, and he responded to the third by stating that he was very sick and was too weak to travel to Iraq.[537] Al-Qadi al-Fadil also sent his apologies in writing for not going to the embassy.

The city of Jerusalem was fortified and inspected after the peace deal. Al-Isfahani wrote:

> After the peace deal, the sultan returned to Jerusalem to check on it and inspect the troops; he strengthened and fortified its walls, restored and beautified its historic sites, made its ditches deeper, paved its roads and added a market to the endowment of the school with all its shops, and lands with all their gardens. He also organized the affairs of the Sufis, allocating complete endowments to guarantee them enough to live on. He allocated the church in Qumamah Street to be turned into a hospital, and brought to it drugs and medicines of all types. He extended the walls of Jerusalem as far as Mount Zion and incorporated it into the city, and he issued orders that the trenches be extended around the entire city. He decided to go on Hajj, but it was not decreed for him and he regretted missing it after having prepared himself for it. He stayed (in al-Quds) for the month of Ramadan, and was very generous and kind. He appointed 'Izz ad-Deen Jurdeek as governor of Jerusalem and its environs when he dismissed Husam ad-Deen Siyarookh from this post; and he appointed his Mameluke, 'Alam ad-Deen Qaysar, as governor of the territories beyond Jerusalem, such as Hebron, Gaza, Darum and Ascalon.[538]

Al-Qadi al-Fadil objected to Salah ad-Deen's plan to go on Hajj. When Al Qadi al-Fadil heard that the Sultan had decided to go on Hajj, he wrote to him advising him to cancel it on the basis that the Franks had not yet left Syria, and they had not forgotten about Jerusalem. They could not be trusted not to break the peace deal.

> There is no guarantee, if the Franks are still here, our troops have dispersed and our Sultan is travelling for a specific, known period of absence, that they will not march one night and arrive at Jerusalem in the morning, catching it unawares, and enter it — Allah forbid —and it would be lost to Islam. In this case (your) Hajj would become a major sin and unforgivable; a mistake which could never be overlooked.

He added:

> The pilgrims of Iraq and Khorasan: are they not two hundred thousand or three hundred thousand strong or more? Is there any guarantee that it will not be said that the sultan marched to settle some scores, shed blood and disturb the Hajj, so they would not go? Then it would become a bad precedent, I seek refuge with Allah from that. These consequences are not unlikely and foolish people are not unlikely to think that way… Your Highness, dealing with the wrongs done to the people is more important than anything by means of which you could draw closer to Allah. It is not only one case; around Damascus the wrongs done to the peasants make one wonder that rain still falls, and there is a great deal of injustice on the part of the fief-holders against those who are working for them. In the valleys of Barada and Zabadani there is trouble and turmoil, the swords are still dripping with blood and no one is trying to stop it. The Muslims have borders that need fortifications and weapons.

> Another essential task is the creation of a balance between the state's income and outgoings. It is impossible to spend without sufficient income or to have a branch without a root. This is a matter which we have discussed a great deal before, but his highness was distracted from paying attention to it. Although the financial affairs of the state are in difficulty, when things settle down — Allah forbid that the problems come back — the most serious issue to be faced is the fact that the state treasury is empty. Your servant is not asking to collect more money from the people; rather he is asking to manage financial affairs in such a way that they stabilise.[539]

This letter indicates the depth of Al Qadi al-Fadil's understanding of the aims of Islamic law; it also demonstrates the importance of the presence of devoted scholars alongside the political and military leadership. Sultan Salah ad-Deen responded to Al Qadi al-Fadil's advice; he listened to him, appreciated his sincerity, accepted it and decided not to perform the Hajj that year. He wrote about that to all the provinces, and remained in Jerusalem for the entire month of Ramadan, fasting, praying and reading the Qur'an. Every time one of the Christian leaders came to him, he honored him with a gift and showed him generosity, so as to soften their hearts and to confirm the covenant between them, and in hopes of instilling faith in their hearts. There was not one of their kings who did not come to visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in disguise, and he came to the table of the sultan among the masses who came, so as not to be recognized. The sultan was aware of that; he knew of it in general terms, but not in detail. Hence he honored them, and showed them great tolerance, kindness and generosity.[540]

The sultan returned to Damascus. In 5 Shawwal 588 AH, he set out with his troops from Jerusalem heading towards Damascus. He appointed as his deputy in Jerusalem Izz ad-Deen Jurdeek and as its judge Baha' ad-Deen Yoosuf ibn Rafi' ibn Tameem ash-Shafi'i. He passed through the valley of Habeeb[541] and stayed overnight at the Templar pond. He then arrived in Nablus in the morning, where he examined

and inspected the city, then he left it and started passing through fortresses and towns to check on their situation and financial affairs, restore rights, put an end to transgression and encourage good deeds. On his journey, Bohemond of Antioch came to him and he honored him, treated him kindly, and gave him a great deal of wealth and beautiful clothing. Al-Imad al-Katib al-Isfahani was among his entourage, and he wrote about every halt he made and every stage he passed. He noted:

> On Monday he crossed 'Ayn al-Jarr,[542] heading towards Marj Yaboos,[543] and all his troubles ceased. Prominent people of Damascus came out and we camped on Tuesday at al-'Arradah.[544] People came out to receive him as usual, and on Wednesday morning (meaning 16 Shawwal) we came to the Garden of Damascus, entering it safe and sound but not immortal. The Sultan's absence from the city had lasted for four years. All the people of Damascus came out to receive him, women and men, and it was a day of celebration. Everyone who was in the city came out; the people gathered in the forenoon and there was joy and happiness everywhere. He met with his children, both old and young, and the envoys of the kings came to him from all over. He spent the rest of that year hunting, attending the courthouse to pass judgments, and striving to do good deeds. When Eid al-Adha came, one of the poets praised him in an ode.[545]

The leader of the Hajj was accused of writing to Salah ad-Deen against the caliph. In 588 AH, the leader of the Hajj in Baghdad, whose name was Tashtigin — who had been the leader of the pilgrims for twenty years, and was of outstanding good character — was accused of writing to Salah ad-Deen ibn Ayub, telling him to come to Iraq to capture it because no one would stop him. This was a fabrication against him, but despite that he was arrested and humiliated and his property confiscated.[546]

In 588 AH, Abul-Murhaf an-Numayri died. He had studied hadith and was a man of letters. He had contracted smallpox at the age of fourteen, which had

weakened his eyesight so that he was unable to see distant objects, but he could see things that were close to him, and he did not need a guide. He travelled to Iraq to seek treatment for his eyes, but the doctors told him that there was no hope. So he occupied himself with memorizing the Qur'an, he kept company with righteous people and ascetics, and he did the right thing. He wrote reams of poetry. On one occasion he was asked about his madh-hab and beliefs, and he composed the following lines of verse:

> *I love ʿAli and Fatimah and their children, but I do not deny the*
> *Superiority of the two shaykhs (Abu Bakr and'Umar).*
> *I disavow myself of anyone who harmed 'Uthman, as I disavow*
> *myself of Ibn Muljam (the one who killed 'Ali).*
> *I like the people of Hadith for their truthfulness, and I cannot choose*
> *for company anyone other than them.*[571]

Salah ad-Deen's illness and death: 589 AH

The final days of the life of Salah ad-Deen

Al-Isfahani stated:

> The Sultan remained in Damascus in his house, and the rulers throughout the Muslim lands were awaiting instructions. The world was shining with the brightness of his face, and envoys from different regions were gathered at his door, waiting for permission to enter upon him, guests were enjoying his generosity, and the poor were enjoying his charity. Every day he sat down to exercise his generosity, show his kindness, do righteous deeds and put an end to wrongdoing. He went out hunting to the east of Damascus with provisions for fifteen days, and he took with him his brother al-'Adil. He went very far in

the wilderness, heading eastwards, and he had good opportunities for hunting. He hunted what he liked, then returned on Monday 11 Safar, which coincided with the return of the Syrian pilgrims, so he went out to meet them. When he met the pilgrims, tears fell from his eyes: how could he have missed out on the Hajj that he wished to perform? He asked them about the situation in Makkah, its emir and people, its rainfall and weather, and how much support they had received from Egypt, about its charities and poor, the people who stayed there, and its income and administration. He was happy because the pilgrims had gone and come back safely, and because the route (to Makkah) was safe. His nephew Sayf al-Islam arrived from Yemen, and he received him and honored him.[548]

Salah ad-Deen's sickness

When Friday night came, he was very lethargic; halfway through the night he was overcome with a bilious fever which affected his stomach more than his back. On Saturday morning, 16 Safar, the effects of the fever could be seen in him but he did not show that to the people. Nonetheless, Al Qadi Ibn Shaddad and Al Qadi al-Fadil stayed by his side, and his son al-Afdal came in. Al-Qadi Ibn Shaddad reported:

> We stayed with him for a long time; he complained at first about the bad night he had had, but after that he seemed to take pleasure in talking to us. This lasted until noon, when we left, leaving our hearts with him. He told us to go and partake of the meal in attendance with al-Malik al-Afdal. Al-Qadi al-Fadil was not accustomed to doing that, so he returned (to his home); for my part, I went into the great Southern Hall, and found the table laid, and al-Afdal sitting in his father's seat. As I could not endure this sight, I left without sitting down at the table. Several others, seeing his son seated in his place, took it as a bad omen and shed tears at the sight.

From that time on, the Sultan's illness grew ever more serious, and we never omitted to visit him both morning and evening. Al-Qadi al-Fadil and I used to go into the sickroom several times a day, whenever a lull in the pain he was suffering allowed him to receive visits. It was from pain in his head that he suffered most. One of the things for which we augured that his life would be taken was the absence of his chief physician, who knew his constitution better than anyone, having always attended him both in the city and on his journeys. On the fourth day of his illness, the other physicians thought it necessary to bleed him, and from that moment he grew seriously worse, and the humors of the body began to cease their flow. His condition was aggravated by the predominance of this dryness, and he was reduced to the last degree of weakness. On the sixth day we got him to sit up, propping him up at the back with a pillow; we then brought him a cup of lukewarm water to drink, which was to act as an emollient after the medicine he had taken. He tasted it and found it too hot; another cup was brought to him which he thought too cold, but still he did not get vexed or angry, but only said, "Subhan-Allah, perhaps there is no one who can make the water of the right temperature!"

Al-Fadil and I left with tears streaming from our eyes, and he said to me, "Look at this attitude of this great man whom the Muslims are about to lose! By Allah, any other man in his place would have thrown the cup at the head of the man who brought it!"

During the sixth, seventh and eighth days the illness increased, and then his mind began to wander. On the ninth day, he began to tremble and refused to take the draught that was brought to him. The whole city was in turmoil, and the merchants, being afraid, began to carry away their goods out of the bazaars. It is impossible to give any idea of the sorrow and trouble with which one and all were oppressed. Every evening Al Qadi al-Fadil and I would sit up for the first third of the night together; then we would go to the gates of the

house. If we found a means, we would take a look at him and then immediately withdraw, and if not, we would still find out how he was. When we came out, we would find the people waiting to gather, from the expression on our faces, what the sultan's state was.[549]

On the tenth day of his illness they treated him twice with a suppository, which gave him some relief. After that it gave the greatest delight to all to hear that he had drunk some barley water. That night, as usual, we waited some hours and then we went to the house, where we found Jamal ad-Dawlah Iqbal. When we asked about the health (of the sultan), he went in and sent us word from al-Malik al-Mu'adh-dham Turanshah that perspiration was visible on both legs. We gave thanks to Allah for this news, and asked him to check the rest of the body and let us know of any perspiration elsewhere. He did as we asked him and came back to us, saying that the perspiration was all over. We then departed with lighter hearts.

On the following day, which was Tuesday the eleventh day of his sickness and the twenty-sixth of the month of Safar, we went to the gate to ask for news. They told us that the perspiration was so profuse that it had gone right through the mattress and the mat, and the moisture could be seen on the floor. As the dehydration of his body had increased to such a degree, his strength deteriorated, and the doctors realized that.[550]

The people swear allegiance to al-Malik al-Afdal

When al-Malik al-Afdal saw his father's condition, and realized that there was no hope of his recovery, he made all haste to secure the oath of allegiance of the people. He held a reception for that purpose in Dar Radwan, which was known to be his residence. He summoned the judges and instructed them to draft a brief oath, promising fidelity to the sultan as long as he lived, and after his death to al-Afdal. The emir excused himself to the people on the grounds that the sultan's illness was most

critical, and that one could not tell what might happen, and it was necessary to provide for any event after the manner of kings.[551]

The text of the oath was as follows:

> From this moment forth, with single aim and unflinching purpose, I swear my allegiance to al-Malik an-Nasir (Salah ad-Deen) as long as he lives, and I will never relax my efforts to uphold his government, consecrating to his service my life and wealth, my sword and my men; I will obey his commands and conform to his will. Afterwards I will keep the same faith with his son, al-Malik al-Afdal 'Ali. I take Allah to witness that I will obey him and uphold his government and land, consecrating to his service my life and wealth, my sword and my men; I will observe his commands and prohibitions, and I swear that my private resolutions correspond with my oath. I call upon Allah to be Witness to my words.[552]

His death (may Allah have mercy on him)

Ibn Shaddad related:

> The eve of Wednesday 27 Safar in the year 589 was the twelfth night of the illness. He grew worse and his strength failed, and from the beginning of the night there was no hope. The presence of the women (of his family) prevented us from going to see him; but that night they sent for me as well as Al Qadi al-Fadil and Ibn az-Zaki, and it was not the usual time for our presence there. Al-Malik al-Afdal wanted us to spend the night with him, but the qadi objected, because people used to wait for us on our return from the citadel, and he feared that if we did not make our appearance, an alarm might spread through the city, and they might begin pillaging. We therefore thought it best for us to leave. Al-Afdal then decided to summon Abu Ja'far, imam of Kallasah, and a man of known rectitude, in order that he might be on hand in the citadel if Allah should call the sick man to Himself that night. But he was prevented

from being with him by the women. He (Salah ad-Deen) was reminded of the *shahddah*[553]and of Allah, and he recited the shahadah. The qadi and I took our leave; both of us would have readily laid down our lives for his.

He remained all night in the state of one going to meet Allah; Shaykh Abu Ja'far recited to him passages from the Qur'an and reminded him of Allah Almighty. Since the ninth day of the fever, his mind had been wandering, and his brain was clear only at intervals. The Shaykh afterwards assured us thus, "I was reciting the words of Allah (SWT) to him:

{He is Allah, beside whom none has the right to be worshipped, the Knower of the unseen and the seen} ***(Qur'an 59: 22)***

and I heard him say (may Allah have mercy on him), ‘It is true!' He woke up at the right time, and it was a sign of Allah's favor to him. Allah be praised for that.[554]

The Sultan died at the hour of the dawn prayer on Wednesday 27 Safar in the year 589 (4 March 1193 CE). Al-Qadi al-Fadil had hastened back to the palace before dawn at the time of his passing away (may Allah have mercy on him). I was told that whilst Shaykh Abu Ja'far was reciting the verse:

{La ilaha illa Huwa **[none has the right to be worshipped but He], in Him I put my trust}** ***(Qur'an 9: 129)***

He smiled, his face grew radiant and he submitted his soul to his Lord.[555] Never, since Islam and the Muslims lost the [four] first caliphs, never, from that time, had the faith and the faithful suffered a blow such as that they received on the day of the Sultan's death. The citadel, the city, and the whole world were thereby plunged into grief, of which Allah alone could fathom the intensity.[556] I had often heard people Say they would lay down their own lives for that of someone very dear to them, but I thought it was only a manner of speaking, from which a great deal must be deducted in reality; I know from

myself and from others that if a ransom could have been accepted, we would have given ourselves as a ransom for him.[557]

Reception of condolences and burial

Ibn Shaddad's description of the events continues:

> Al-Malik al-Afdal then held a reception in the North Hall, to receive the condolences of his officers; but he placed a guard at the entrance to the castle, and only admitted emirs of high rank and scholars. It was, indeed, a melancholy day; everyone was so entirely given up to sorrow and anxiety, to tears and lamentations, that they thought of nothing else. No poet was admitted to the audience chamber to recite elegies; no preacher appeared to exhort the people. The Sultan's children went out into the streets to excite the compassion of the public, and the sorrow of the piteous sight almost killed all who saw them. This went on until the midday prayer.
>
> They were meanwhile busy in washing the body, and putting it in its shroud. We were obliged to borrow money to purchase everything necessary for the funeral, even down to things that cost but a halfpenny, such as the straw to be mixed with the clay (to make the bricks). Ad-Doola'i, the faqeeh, was charged with the task of washing the body. They asked me to superintend this operation, but I was not strong enough to bear it.
>
> When the midday prayer was over, the bier was brought forth, covered with a piece of striped cloth. Al-Qadi al-Fadil had provided this, and other garments necessary to shroud the body, and he had been careful to select such as were proper and suitable. When the crowd saw the bier, they raised cries of sorrow, and the air resounded with their wailings. They were so distracted by their grief that instead of regular supplication the people could only exclaim. Then the people offered the funeral prayer for him in groups, one after another, and the first to lead the prayer was Al Qadi Muhiy ad-Deen ibn az-Zaki. The body

> was then brought round to the house in the garden, where the sultan had lived during his illness, and it was buried at the west side of the house. It was a little before the hour of the 'asr prayer that the sultan was committed to the grave.
>
> During the day his son al-Malik adh-Dhahir went out into the city to console the people, and to calm the minds of the inhabitants, but the people were too much taken up with weeping to think of pillaging or making any disturbance. Everyone was heartbroken. All eyes were filled with tears, and there were very few who did not weep. After this, everyone went home with death in their very souls, and no one appeared again (in the streets) all that night. We alone went to visit and to recite passages from the Qur'an over the grave, and renewed our grief. Al-Malik al-Afdal spent the whole of the day writing to his brothers and his uncle, informing them of the sad event. The next day he held a public reception to receive the condolences of the people, and threw open the gates of the citadel to the jurisprudents and the scholars. Sermons were delivered, but no poets recited any elegy, and shortly after midday the assembly broke up. The people went to the tomb in crowds from morning till night, reciting passages from the Qur'an and imploring Allah's blessings on him.[558]

Ibn Katheer noted:

> Then condolences were offered in the Umayyad Mosque for three days, attended by the elite, the public, commoners and rulers, during which the poets recited many eulogies, among the most beautiful of which was composed by al-‘Imad al-Katib (al-Isfahani) in his book ***Sana al-Barq ash-Shami,*** and was 232 lines long.[559]

The sword of Salah ad-Deen in his grave

It was said that his sword which he carried with him in his jihad and when fighting was buried with him. That was done on the orders of Al Qadi al-Fadil, one of the most virtuous and prominent people. They hoped that it would be with him on the

Day of Resurrection, and he would be leaning on it until he entered paradise, because of what Allah had blessed him with of defeating His enemies and supporting His friends. What a great blessing that was.[560]

Last words of Salah ad-Deen to his son al-Malik adh-Dhahir

On his deathbed, the sultan told his son:

> I urge you to fear Allah, for it is the basis of all goodness. I enjoin upon you all that Allah enjoins upon you, for it is the cause of your salvation. I warn you against bloodshed and indulging therein, for blood does not sleep. I enjoin you to be kind to people and to check on their situation, for you are a trustee and the trustee of the people over them. I enjoin you to pay attention to the feelings of the emirs and prominent figures in the state, for I have not achieved what I have except by being kind to the people. Do not bear grudges against anyone, for death does not leave anyone alone. Be careful about the way you deal with people, for nothing will be forgiven except with their consent, but whatever is between you and Allah, Allah will forgive it when you repent to Him, for He is Most Generous.[561]

The sultan's estate

He left behind in his stores nothing of gold except a single dinar and 36 dirhams, or 47 dirhams, according to another report. He left behind no house, no property, no farm, no garden, nothing of any kind of possessions.[562] The only reason he did not leave any wealth or property behind was because he gave so much away as gifts and charity, and as favors to his emirs, viziers, close friends and even his enemies. He had very little in the way of clothing, food, drink and mounts. He wore nothing but cotton, linen and wool, and it is not known that he chose anything that

might be disliked by Allah after Allah blessed him with leadership. His main concern and goal was always to support Islam and defeat its enemies. He was thinking of that all the time, and discussing it openly by night and by day with those who could be trusted. This was in addition to the virtues, righteous deeds and unique gifts that he had in his knowledge and use of language, literature and history. It was even said that he memorized a poem called *Al-Hamasah* in its entirety. He always offered the prayers on time in congregation, and for a long time before his death he never missed any congregational prayer, not even during his final illness of which he died. The imam would come in and lead him in prayer, and he would make himself stand even though it was difficult.[563]

A most brilliant letter announcing the death of Salah ad-Deen

Ibn Tagharri recorded:

> At the hour of the death of the sultan Salah ad-Deen, Al Qadi al-Fadil wrote to (Salah ad-Deen's) son al-Malik adh-Dhahir, the ruler of Aleppo, a letter that read:
>
> **{There has certainly been for you in the Messenger of Allah an excellent pattern.}** ***(Qur'an 33: 21)***
>
> **{Verily, the convulsion of the final Hour (of Judgement) is a terrible thing.}** ***(Qur'an 22: 1)***
>
> I write to our master the Sultan al-Malik adh-Dhahir, may Allah console him and make him follow in the footsteps of the departed king; may Allah have mercy on him.
>
> The Muslims have been shaken as by a tremendous earthquake, many tears have been shed, and the hearts have reached the throats. I kissed your father and my master in farewell, a farewell after which there will be no meeting. I

kissed his face on my behalf and yours, and I surrendered him to Allah with helplessness and weakness, content with Allah; there is no power and no strength except with Allah. He died with the troops at his door, and with weapons sheathed that could not ward off calamity or ward off the divine decree. Eyes fill with tears and hearts feel sorrow, but we do not say anything but that which pleases the Lord.

O Yusuf, we grieve for you. As for advice, there is no need for it; as for opinions, I am too distracted to offer any opinion. As the matter seems to be, if you keep in agreement (with your brothers), you will have lost nothing but his noble character, but if it is otherwise then his death is the least of future afflictions, at a time when his death is a great calamity indeed. *Was-Salam* (With Peace).[564]

A good dream

Abu Shamah said in *Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*

In one of the letters of Al Qadi al-Fadil, I found that on the night the Sultan died, he saw (in a dream) someone saying to him: this night Yusuf has left the prison. This may be interpreted in the light of the hadith which goes: <This world is a prison for the believer and paradise for the disbeliever.>[565] The situation of our Yoosuf — may Allah have mercy on him — in this world compared to his position in the hereafter, was like that of a prisoner. May Allah be pleased with that soul, and open the gates of paradise to him, for that is the final victory that he hoped for.[566]

The people were deeply moved by the death of Salah ad-Deen; even European historians prayed for mercy for Salah ad-Deen and praised his justice, strength and tolerance; they regarded him as the greatest character of the entire

Crusader era. As for Salah ad-Deen's status, it will remain great for all time. What he did to unite the Muslims and defend them and then continue his jihad in an unwavering manner in order to expel the invaders was sufficient.[567] His love of jihad gained control of his heart and all his faculties, to such an extent that he talked about nothing else, he thought only about weapons for it, he had no concern except the men of jihad, and no inclination except towards those who would remind him of it and encourage him to engage in it. In his love of jihad for the sake of Allah, he forsook his family, his children, his homeland, his house and all his land. In this world he was content to live in the shade of a tent blown right and left by the wind.[568] Undoubtedly the death of Salah ad-Deen was a great loss to the united Muslim front, and this death was a harbinger of the conflicts that would come between the sons of the Ayubid house, which we will discuss in detail, if Allah wills, in the fourth book of our series on the Crusades, entitled: ***The Ayubids after the Death of Salah ad-Deen.***

Epilogue

I completed this book at 3 a.m on Wednesday 05/05/1428 AH (22/05/2007 CE) by the grace of Allah. I ask Him to accept this work, and open people's hearts to benefit from it. May He bless it by His grace, generosity and favor. Allah (SWT) says:

{Whatever Allah grants to people of mercy, none can withhold it; and whatever He withholds, none can release it thereafter. And He is the Exalted in Might, the Wise.} ***(Qur'an 35: 2)***

At the end of this book I cannot but stand with a humble heart before my Almighty Creator and my most generous God, acknowledging His grace, favor and generosity, and denying any power or strength on my part, turning to Him in all my actions, in life and in death, for Allah my Creator is the most generous; my generous Lord is the only helper; my Almighty God is my only source of aid. So to Him be praise for the blessings that He has bestowed upon me first and last, and I ask Him, glorified is He, by His most beautiful names and His sublime attributes to make this work of mine for His sake only and make it of benefit to His slaves; to reward me for every letter that I have written and place it in the scale of my good deeds, and to reward my brothers who helped me to complete this humble effort. We hope that every Muslim who reads this book will not forget in his supplications its author who is in need of the pardon, forgiveness, mercy and great pleasure of his Lord.

{My Lord! Enable me to be grateful for Your favor which You have bestowed upon me and **upon my parents,** and **to do righteousness, that of which You approve,** and **admit me by Your Mercy into [the ranks of] Your righteous servants.}** **(Qur'an 27: 19)**

Notes

1. **al-Ghamidi, *Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,* p. 157**
2. **ibid.**
3. **op. cit., p. 165**
4. **Taqqoosh, *Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Misr wa Bilad ash-Sham,* p.140**
5. **al-Ghamidi, *Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyeen,* p. 175**
6. ***Al-Fath al-Qdsiy fil-Fath al-Qudsi,* p. 67, 68; al-Ghamidi, *Salah ad Deenwas-Saleebiyoon,* p. 175**
7. **Ibn al-Atheer, *al-Kamil fit-Tareekh,* quoted in *Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,* p. 175**
8. **al-Ghamidi, *Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,* p. 176**
9. **al-Maqdisi, *Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,* quoted in: al-Ghamidi, *Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,* p. 176**
10. **Reynald had acquired Kerak as a result of his marriage to Stephanie deMilly in 1176. (Editor)**
11. **Ibn al-Atheer, *al-Kamil fit-Tareekh,* quoted in: al-Ghamidi, *Salah ad-Deenwas-Saleebiyoon,* p. 176**
12. **Taqqoosh, *Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,* p. 142**
13. **op. cit., p. 143**
14. **Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob,* vol. 2, p. 185; Taqqoosh, *Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,* p. 142**
15. **Ibn al-Atheer, *al-Kamil fit-Tareekh,* vol. 2, p. 185; Taqqoosh, *Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,* p. 142**
16. **Taqqoosh, *Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,* p. 142**
17. **al-Ghamidi, *Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyeen,* p. 176**
18. **Taqqoosh, *Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,* p. 143**
19. **op. cit, p. 143**
20. **ibid.**
21. **Busra, one of the neighbouring towns of Damascus: it is the capital of theprovince of Hawran.**
22. ***Al-Fath al-Qdsiy fil-Fath al-Qudsi,* pp. 58-59**
23. **Taqqoosh, *Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,* p. 143**
24. **op. cit., p. 144**
25. **Al-Maqdisi, *Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,* vol. 2, p. 75; al-Ghamidi, *Salah ad-Deenwas-Saleebiyeen,* p. 178**

26. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 187; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deenwas-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 178,**

27. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 187; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deenwas-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 179**

28. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 76; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deenwas-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 179**

29. **al-Ghamidi, &z/a/i** ***ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 179**

30. **Ashtara: a place in Hawran, one of the neighbouring towns of Damascus.**

31. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 179**

32. ***Al-Maqdisi, Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 86; al-Ghamidi,** ***ad-Deenwas-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 180**

33. **Ibn Khallikan,** ***Wafeeydt al-A'ydn wa Anbd' az-Zamdn,*** **vol. 7, p. 174; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 180**

34. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 76**

35. **al-'Urayni,** ***Ash-Sharq al-Adnd fil-Usoor al-Wustd al-Ayoobiyoon,*** **p. 84**

36. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 76**

37. ***Tareekh Ibn Khaldoon,*** **quoted in: al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 181**

38. **'Ashoor,** ***al-Harakah as-Saleebiyah,*** **vol. 2, p. 799**

39. **Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 182**

40. **'Ashoor,** ***al-Harakah as-Saleebiyah,*** **vol. 2, p. 804; al-Ghamidi, Salah ad- Deen was-Saleebiyoon, p. 182**

41. **'Ashoor,** ***al-Harakah as-Saleebiyah,*** **vol. 2, p. 804; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad- Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 182**

42. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 76; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deenwas-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 182**

43. **al-'Urayni, op. cit., p. 87**

44. **ibid.**

45. **ibid.; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 182**

46. **Ibn al-Atheer,** ***al-Kamil fit-Tareekh,*** **vol. 11, p. 533; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 182**

47. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 83**

48. **Ibn al-Atheer,** ***al-Kamil fit-Tareekh,*** **quoted in: al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deenwas-Saleebiyyoon,*** **p. 183**

49. **'Ashoor,** ***al-Harakah as-Saleebiyah,*** **vol. 2, p. 806**

50. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 184**

51. **Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 77, quoting from al-'Imad al-Isfahani**

52. **Ibn al-Atheer,** ***Al-Kamil fit-Tareekh,*** **vol. 11, p. 534;** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 185**

53. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 76**

54. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 81; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deenwas-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 185**

55. **Ibn al-Atheer,** ***al-Kamil fit-Tareekh,*** **vol. 11, p. 535**

56. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 186**

57. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **P- 186**

58. **Ibn al-Atheer,** ***al-Kamil fit-Tareekh,*** **vol. 11, p. 535**

59. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 19; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deenwas-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 186**

60. **Ibn al-Atheer,** ***al-Kamil fit-Tareekh,*** **vol. 11, pp. 535-536; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salahad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 187**

61. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 78**

62. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob*** **vol. 2, p. 191; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deenwas-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 187**

63. **Ibn al-Atheer,** ***al-Kamil fit-Tareekh,*** **vol. 11, p. 536; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 188**

64. **al-'Urayni op. cit., p. 98; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was- Saleebiyoon,*** **p.188**

65. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 77; Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrijal-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 192**

66. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 194**

67. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 195**

68. **The author reported in Vol. 2 that during Reynald's raids on Muslim pilgrim caravans he would taunt his victims with the question, "Where is your Muhammad now?" (Editor)**

69. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **pp. 78-79**

70. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 79; Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 195**

71. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 196; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deenwas-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 190**

72. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 79**

73. **Sa'dawi, Hassan,** ***at-Tareekh al-Harbi al-Misri,*** **p. 186**

74. **Mu'nis,** ***al-Huroob as-Saleebiyah: al-'Aldqah bayna ash-Sharq wal-Gharb,*****p. 219**

75. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 82; al-Ghamidi,** ***ad-Deen was-Saleebiyeen,*** **p. 790**

76. **Ibn al-Jawzi,** ***Mir'at az-Zamdn,*** **quoted in: al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyeen,*** **p. 190**

77. **Ibn al-Atheer,** ***al-Kamil fit-Tareekh,*** **vol. 3, pp. 23-55; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyeen,*** **p. 191**

78. **'Ulwan,** ***Salah ad-Deen al-Ayyoobi,*** **p. 121**

79. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah wal-Mahasin al-Yoosufiyah,*** **p. 75**

80. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn fee Akhbdr ad-Dawlatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 380**

81. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyeen,*** **p. 191**

82. ***al-Aldqdt ad-Duwaliyah fee Asr al-Huroob as-Saleebiyah,*** **vol. 2, p. 375**

83. **an-Ni'mah, Ibraheem,** ***al-Wahdah al-Isldmiyah bayna al-Ams wal-Yawm,*** **p. 9**

84. **Bukhari,** ***Saheeh al-Bukhari,*** **"The Book of Manners"**

85. **an-Ni'mah,** ***al-Wahdah al-Islamiyah bayna al-Ams wal-Yawm,*** **p. 23**

86. **an-Ni'mah,** ***al-Wahdah al-Islamiyah bayna al-Ams wal-Yawm,*** **p. 24**

87. **Mu'nis,** ***al-Huroob as-Saleebiyah, al-Aldqdt bayna ash-Sharq wal-Gharb,*** **p.215**

88. **op. cit., p. 217**

89. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 218**

90. ***Salah ad-Deen: al-Fdris al-Mujdhid wal-Malik az-Zdhid,*** **p. 253**

91. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 52**

92. ***Salah ad-Deen: al-Fdris al-Mujdhid wal-Malik az-Zdhid,*** **p. 255**

93. ***Salah ad-Deen: al-Fdris al-Mujdhid wal-Malik az-Zdhid,*** **p. 256**

94. **op. cit., p. 257**

95. **ibid.**

96. ***Salah ad-Deen: al-Fdris al-Mujdhid wal-Malik al-Adil,*** **p. 263; al-Maqdisi,*****Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 3, p. 297**

97. **'Ulwan,** ***Salah ad-Deen al-Ayyoobi,*** **p. 113**

98. **Abu Fans,** ***Duroos wa Ta'ammuldt fil-Huroob as-Saleebiyah,*** **p. 178**

99. **Abu Fans,** ***Duroos wa Ta'ammuldt fil-Huroob as-Saleebiyah,*** **p. 180**

100. **Ibn Katheer, Isma'eel,** ***Tafseer Ibn Katheer,*** **vol. 3, p. 170**

101. **Narrated by al-Hakim in** ***al-Mustadrak*** **in the chapter on faith, vol. 1, p. 62**

102. **Ibn Katheer,** ***Tafseer Ibn Katheer,*** **vol. 2, p. 526**

103. ***hadith qudsi:*****'sacred hadith': a hadith communicated to Prophet Muhammad(SAW)by Allah, but that is not part of the Qur'an**

104. **al-Mundhiri,** ***Mukhtasar Saheeh Muslim,*** **no. 1828**

105. **Abu Fans,** ***Duroos wa Ta'ammuldt fil-Huroob as-Saleebiyah,*** **p. 205**

106. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah wal-Mahasin al-Yoosufiyah*****p. 13-14**

107. **Abu Fans,** ***Duroos wa Ta'ammuldt fil-Huroob as-Saleebiyah,*** **p. 211**

108. **Tabseer al-Mu'mineen bi Fiqh an-Nasr wat-Tamkeen, p. 473**

109. **Abu Dawood,** ***Kitab al-Jihad, "Bab Dawam al-Jihad",*** **vol. 3, p. 11, no. 2484**

110. **Muslim,** ***Kitab al-lmdrah, Bab Qawlihi La tazdl,*** **vol. 31, p. 1524, no. 176**

111. **Narrated by Sa'eed ibn Mansoor,** ***Kitab al-Jihad,*** **no. 2376; it has other chains of narration which strengthen it.**

112. **al-'Awdah, Salman, Sifdt al-Ghurabd', p. 205**

113. **Ibn Katheer,** ***al-Bidayah wan-Nihayah,*** **quoted in al-'Affani,**Say**yid Husayn,** ***Wd Qudsdh,*** **vol. 1, p. 373**

114. **al-Hanbali,** ***Shadhardt adh-Dhahab,*** **vol. 4, p. 327**

115. **Ibn Katheer,** ***al-Bidayah wan-Nihayah,*** **quoted in: Abu Faris,** ***Duroos wa Ta'ammuldt fil-Huroob as-Saleebiyah,*** **p. 198**

116. **Abu Faris,** ***Duroos wa Ta'ammulat fil-Huroob as-Saleebiyah,*** **p. 143 op. cit., p. 185**

117. **Op. cit., p. 185**

118. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 12**

119. **al-Balawi,** ***Dawr al-Mar'ah fil-Istikhbdrdt al-Isldmiyah,*** **p. 67**

120. **'Ashoor, 'Abd al-Fattah,** ***Hattin Waqa'i' wa 'ibar,*** **p. 45**

121. **Sun Tzu, b. c500 BCE: Chinese Taoist philosopher**and**military strategist, commonly believed to be the author of** ***The Art of War*** **(Editor)**

122. **al-Manasrah, 'Abd-Allah 'Ali as-Salamah,** ***al-Istikhbarat al-Askariyah fil-Islam,*** **p. 311**

123. **Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 153**

124. **Le Bon, Gustave** ***La Civilisation des Arabes,*****tr. 'Adil Zu'aytar, p. 328;The 'quote' is a retranslation of the Arabic translation of a passage fromLe Bon's work. (Editor),**

125. **an-Nadawi, Abul-Hasan,** ***Muhadarat fil-Fikr wad-Da'wah,*** **vol. 2, pp. 227-228**

126. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 3, pp. 300, 301**

127. **ibid., vol. 3, p. 307**

128. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 88**

129. ***Siyasat Salah ad-Deen fee Bilad Misrwash-Sham,*** **p. 305**

130. **al-Muhtadi, 'Aliyah,** ***Salah ad-Deen wa Tahreer al-Quds,*** **p. 124**

131. **ibid.**

132. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 79; Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p.196**

133. **Acre: a large city with many villages around it anda port.**

134. **IbnShaddad,*****an-Nawadiras-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 79**

135. **Siyasat Salah ad-Deen, p. 297**

136. **al-Muhtadi,** ***Salah ad-Deen wa Tahreer al-Quds,*** **p. 125**
137. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 202**
138. **op. cit, vol. 2, pp. 202, 203**
139. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 80; al-Muhtadi,** ***Salah ad-Deenwa Tahreer al-Quds,*** **p. 126**
140. **al-Muhtadi,** ***Salah ad-Deen wa Tahreer al-Quds,*** **p. 126**
141. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 80, 81; al-Muhtadi,** ***Salah ad-Deen wa Tahreer al-Quds,*** **p. 126**
142. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, pp. 208, 209**
143. **al-Muhtadi,** ***Salah ad-Deen wa Tahreer al-Quds***
144. **Mu'nis,** ***al-Huroob as-Saleebiyah, al-Aldqdt bayna ash-Sharq wal-Gharb,*** **p. 219**
145. **see: Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 89-96**
146. **Mu'nis,** ***al-Huroob as-Saleebiyyah, al-'Aldqdt bayna ash-Sharq wal-Gharb,*** **p. 220**
147. **Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Misr,*** **p. 53**
148. **op. cit., p. 153**
149. **op. cit., p. 154**
150. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 188**
151. ***Ayna 'Umar ibn Abd al-Azeez?***
152. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 193**
153. **ibid.**
154. **Arabic rendering of the original in Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Misr wa Bilad ash-Sham,*** **p. 155**
155. **op. cit., p. 115**
156. **ibid.**
157. **Nuwayhid, Waleed,** ***Salah ad-Deen al-Ayyoobi wa Suqoot al-Quds wa Tahreeruha,*** **p. 78, 79**
158. **Suwayd, Yaseen,** ***Huroob al-Quds fit-Tareekh al-lsldmi wal-Arabi,*** **p. 94**
159. **op. cit., p 94**
160. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 92**
161. **Runciman,** ***A History of the Crusades,*** **vol. 2, p. 749**
162. **Kitab ar-Rawdatayn, vol. 2, p. 93**
163. **Suwayd,** ***Huroob al-Quds fit-Tareekh al-lsldmi wal-Arabi,*** **p. 94**
164. **op. cit., p. 96**
165. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 81; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 208**

166. **Ibn Katheer,** ***al-Bidayah wan-Nihayah,*** **quoted in al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 209**

167. **Ibn Khallikan, vol. 7, p. 184; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 210**

168. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 210**

169. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **2/92**

170. **Suwayd,** ***Huroob al-Quds fit-Tareekh al-Isldmi wal-Arabi,*** **p. 100**

171. **op. cit., p. 100**

172. **op. cit., p. 100**

173. **op. cit., p. 101**

174. **Suwayd,** ***Huroob al-Quds fit-Tareekh al-Isldmi wal-Arabi,*** **p. 101**

175. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 213; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 213**

176. **al-Kamil fil-Athar, quoted in: al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 213; the quote is from the Qur'an** ***(42: 40)***

177. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 214; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyyoon,*** **p. 214**

178. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 214**

179. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 81-82**

180. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 214**

181. **Kitab ar-Rawdatayn, vol. 2, p. 95; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 214**

182. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 82; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 215**

183. **ibid.**

184. **Suwayd,** ***Huroob al-Quds fit-Tareekh al-Isldmi,*** **p. 106**

185. **ibid.**

186. **Suwayd,** ***Huroob al-Quds fit-Tareekh al-Isldmi wal-Arabi,*** **p. 108**

187. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 95**

188. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 216**

189. **Jaysh Misr, p. 69**

190. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 216**

191. **op. cit., p. 217**

192. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 215**

193. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 218**

194. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 3, p. 343; Taslahooq, Wadee',** ***Bayt al-Maqdis amam Ahadith at-Tareekh,*** **p. 343**

195. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 3, p. 343**

196. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 3, p. 344**

197. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 218**

198. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 231; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 218**

199. ***Al-Fath al-Qdsiy fil-Fath al-Qudsi,*** **p. 136; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen,*** **p. 219**

200. ***A'mal al-Franj,*** **translated by Hasan Habashi, pp. 118-120**

201. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 219**

202. **Reston, James Jr.,** ***Muqdtiloona fi Sabeel-lllah,*** **p. 137; The 'quote' is a retranslation of the Arabic translation of a passage from his work,** ***Warriors of God: Richard the Lionheart***and***Saladin in the Third Crusade*** **(Editor)**

203. **Suwayd,** ***Huroob al-Quds fit-Tareekh al-Isldmi wal-Arabi,*** **p. 108; The 'quote* is a retranslation of the Arabic translation of a passage from Runciman's work,** ***A History of the Crusades.*** **(Editor)**

204. **Suwayd,** ***Huroob al-Quds fit-Tareekh,*** **p. 108; The 'quote' is a retranslation of the Arabic translation of a passage from Rene Grousset's work,** ***Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jerusalem,*** **Paris: Plon, 1934-36 (Editor)**

205. **'Adoor, Muneer,** ***al-Wajeez fish-Sham Ard al-Anbiyd' wa Maha al-Asfiyd',*** **p. 61**

206. **ibid.**

207. ***as-Siddeeq:*** **'the one who affirms the truth' — Abu Bakr was so called because he was the first (male) believer in the Prophet (SAW) (bpuh)**and his

Message. (Editor)

208. ***Dhun-Noorayn:*** **'the one with two lights' — 'Uthman was so called because he had been hus**and to **two of the Prophet (SAW)daughters in his lifetime. (Editor)**

209. **Ibn Katheer,** ***al-Bidayah wan-Nihayah,*** **vol. 16, p. 590**

210. ***Salah ad-Dunyd wad-Deen:*** **'restorer of the world**and the **religion'**

211. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 3, p. 391**

212. **Ibn Katheer,** ***al-Bidayah wan-Nihayah,*** **vol. 16, p. 592**

213. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 3, p. 394**

214. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 3, p. 393**

215. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 223**

216. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **quoted in: al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 222**

217. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, pp. 227-229; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 222**

218. **Ibn al-Jawzi,** ***Mir'at az-Zamdn;*** **quoted in: al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 222**

219. **ibid.**

220. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 222**

221. **op. cit., p. 223**

222. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **quoted in al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 224**

223. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 230; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 224**

224. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 224**

225. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 230; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 224**

226. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 225**

227. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 220**

228. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 120; Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 248**

229. **al-Maqreezi,** ***as-Sulook,*** **vol. 1, p. 97; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 221**

230. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 96; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 221**

231. **Hamadah, Muhammad Mahir,** ***Dirdsah Watheeqah lit-Tareekh al-Isldmi,*** **p. 264**

232. **Ibn Katheer,** ***al-Bidayah wan-Nihayah,*** **vol. 16, p. 596**

233. **Ibn al-Atheer,** ***al-Kamil fit-Tareekh,*** **quoted in: Naqli, Asiya,** ***Dawr al-Fuqahd' wal-'Ulamd' fil-Jihad didd as-Saleebiyeen khildl al-Harakah as-Saleebiyah,*** **p. 144**

234. **Naqli, op. cit., p. 144**

235. **op. cit., p. 144**

236. **op. cit., p. 145. Quoted from: Ibn Katheer,** ***al-Bidayah wan-Nihayah***

237. **op. cit., p. 146**

238. **Ibn Katheer,** ***al-Bidayah wan-Nihayah,*** **quoted in Naqli, p. 146**

239. **Naqli, p. 147**

240. **op. cit., p. 147**

241. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 96**

242. **Naqli, p. 147**

243. **Naqli, p. 149**
244. **op. cit., p. 150**
245. **op. cit., p. 153**
246. **Naqli, p. 153**
247. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 119; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 229**
248. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 229**
249. **ibid.**
250. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 98**
251. **Ibn al-Jawzi,** ***Mir'dt az-Zamdn,*** **quoted in: al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 230**
252. **Ibn al-Atheer,** ***al-Kamil fit-Tareekh,*** **quoted in: Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 170**
253. **ibid**
254. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 138**
255. **'Ashoor,** ***al-Harakah as-Saleebiyah,*** **vol. 2, p. 841**
256. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultdnyyah,*** **p. 138**
257. **Ibn al-Atheer,** ***al-Kamil fit-Tareekh,*** **quoted in al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 335**
258. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 235**
259. **op. cit., p. 236**
260. **QaTaji,** ***Salah ad-Deen al-Ayyoobi,*** **p. 280**
261. **op. cit., p. 282**
262. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 271; Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 172**
263. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 129**
264. ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **quoted in: Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 173**
265. **Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 173**
266. **in what is now southern Turkey (Editor)**
267. **Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 173**
268. **op. cit., p. 173**
269. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyyah,*** **p. 152-154; Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyyeen,*** **p. 174**
270. **Ibn Katheer,** ***al-Bidayah wan-Nihayah,*** **vol. 16, p. 604**
271. **Shalaby, Mahmood,** ***Haydt Salah ad-Deen,*** **p. I l l**
272. **al-Husayni, Suhaylah,** ***al-Huroob as-Saleebiyyah Mawdqif wa Tahaddiydt,*** **p. 99**

273. **op. cit., p. 99**

274. **adh-Dhahabi,** ***Siydr A'ldm an-Nubald*** **vol. 21, p. 165**

275. **ibid.**

276. ***Usdmah ibn Munqidh wal-Jadeed min Athdrihi wa Ash'drihi,*** **p. 135**

277. **al-'Affani,** ***Wa Qudsdh,*** **vol. 3, pp. 521-523**

278. **op. cit., vol. 3, p. 526**

279. **op. cit., vol. 3, p. 494**

280. **Issue number 35818, 29/04/1998; This**and the **subsequent quotes are retranslations from the Arabic translations of the original text (Editor)**

281. **op. cit., vol. 3, p. 491**

282. **op. cit., vol. 3, p. 492**

283. **op. cit., vol. 3, p. 492**

284. **op. cit., vol. 3, p. 492**

285. **op. cit., vol. 3, p. 493**

286. **op. cit., vol. 3, p. 493**

287. **op. cit., vol. 3, p. 493**

288. **op. cit., vol 3, p. 490**

289. **op. cit., vol. 3, p. 495**

290. **al-'Affani,** ***Wa Qudsah,*** **vol. 3, p. 496**

291. **ibid.**

292. **ibid.**

293. **al-'Affani,** ***Wa Qudsah,*** **vol. 3, p. 510**

294. **Kayfa Nufakkir Istratijiyan, quoted in: al-'Affani,** ***Wa Qudsah,*** **vol. 3, p. 512**

295. **al-'Affani,** ***Wa Qudsah,*** **vol. 3, p. 485**

296. **Jihad means struggle or striving (in Allah's cause).**

297. **Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyyeen fee Misr wa Bilad ash-Sham wal-Jazeerah,*** **p. 176**

298. **ibid.**

299. **Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Misr wa Bilad ash-Sham,*** **p. 176**

300. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, pp. 161-162; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 238**

301. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 308; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 238**

302. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 149; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 238**

303. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,vo\.*** **2, p. 149; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 238**

304. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 558; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 239**

305. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 240**

306. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***al-Nawadir al-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 126; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 240**

307. **Ibn al-Atheer,** ***al-Kamil fit-Tareekh,*** **quoted in: al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 241**

308. **An ancient Persian unit of distance equal to a league, or about three**and a **half miles.**

309. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 318; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 241**

310. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 242**

311. **ibid.**

312. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 123**

313. **Ibn al-Atheer,** ***al-Kamil fee at-Tareekh,*** **quoted in al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 242**

314. **'Ashoor, Sa'eed,** ***al-Harakah as-Saleebiyah,*** **vol. 2, p. 847**

315. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 319; al-Ghamidi,*****Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 243**

316. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 319; al-Ghamidi,*****Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 243**

317. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 243**

318. **ibid.**

319. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 319; al-Ghamidi,*****Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 244**

320. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 155; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 244**

321. **Ibn al-Atheer,** ***al-Kamil fit-Tareekh,*** **quoted in: al-Ghamidi,*****Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 244**

322. **ibid.**

323. **Sa'dawi, Nazeer Hassan,** ***at-Tareekh al-Harbi al-Masri,*** **p. 239**

324. ***Tareekh Ibn Khaldoon,*** **vol. 5, p. 322; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 244**

325. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 124; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 244**

326. **Kitab ar-Rawdatayn, vol. 2, p. 156; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 245**
327. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 322; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 245**
328. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 323; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 245**
329. ***Tareekh Ibn al-Furat,*** **quoted in: al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 246**
330. **Op. cit.**
331. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 115; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen wa's-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 247**
332. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **p. 115; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 247**
333. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 247**
334. **op. cit., p. 247**
335. **op. cit., p. 248**
336. ***Salah ad-Deen: al-Fdris al-Mujdhid wal-Malik az-Zdhid,*** **p. 285**
337. ***Salah ad-Deen: al-Fdris al-Mujdhid wal-Malik az-Zdhid,*** **p. 286**
338. ***Salah ad-Deen: al-Fdris al-Mujdhid wal-Malik az-Zdhid,*** **p. 286**
339. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 296**
340. **Naqli op. cit., p. 163**
341. **Ibn Katheer,** ***al-Bidayah wan-Nihayah,*** **quoted in: Naqli op. cit., p. 163**
342. **Naqli op. cit., p. 164;**
343. **Ibid.**
344. **op. cit., p. 164;Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,***
345. **Naqli op. cit., p. 164**
346. **Naqli op. cit., p. 167**
347. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, pp. 130, 151**
348. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 98-99; Naqli op. cit., p. 168 Naql ibid.**
349. **Naqli, p. 168**
350. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol.** ***2,*** **p. 304; Naqli op. cit., p. 165**
351. **A fortress on the coast of the Mediterranean, overlooking Acre. al-Hamawi,**
Mujam al-Bulddn, **vol. 2, p. 262**
352. **Naqli op. cit., p. 165**
353. **op. cit., p. 166**
354. **ibid.**

355. **ibid.**

356. ***Salah ad-Deen: al-Fdris al-Mujdhid wal-Malik az-Zdhid,* p. 287**

357. **Hasan, Hasan, *Tareekh al-Isldm,* vol. 4, p. 216**

358. **Ibn Khaldoon, *Tareekh Ibn Khaldoon,* vol. 6, p. 490**

359. **The Maghreb is the western part of the Arab word (North Africa from Libya westwards), and** the **Mashriq is the eastern part thereof. [Translator]**

360. **Hasan, *Tareekh al-lsldm,* vol. 4, p. 216; as-Sallabi, *Safahdt Mushriqah fil-Tareekh al-lsldmi,* vol. 2, p. 518**

361. **op. cit., vol. 2, p. 519**

362. **ibid.**

363. **Moosa, 'Izz ad-Deen, *Dirdsdt fee Tareekh al-Maghrib,* p. 115**

364. **ibid.**

365. **al-Ghanaya, Maraji', *Suqoot Dawlah al-Muwahhideen,* p. 198**

366. **ibid.**

367. **as-Sallabi, *Safahdt Mushriqah min al-Tareekh al-lsldmi,* vol. 2, p. 520**

368. **as-Sallabi, *Safahdt Mushriqah min al-Tareekh al-lsldmi,* vol. 2, p. 251**

369. **ibid.**

370. **al-Maqdisi, *Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,* vol. 2, p. 165; Naqli op. cit., p. 169**

371. **Naqli op. cit., p. 169**

372. **op. cit., p. 169**

373. **op. cit., p. 169**

374. **op. cit., p. 170**

375. **ibid.**

376. **al-Maqdisi, *Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,* vol. 4, p. 179**

377. **op. cit., vol. 4, p. 181**

378. **al-Maqdisi, *Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,* vol. 4, p. 182**

379. **ibid.**

380. **op. cit., vol. 4, p. 186**

381. **al-Maqdisi, *Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,* vol. 4, p. 187**

382. **ibid.**

383. **al-Maqdisi, *Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,* vol. 4, p. 190**

384. **al-Maqdisi, *Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,* vol. 4, p. 154**

385. **ibid**

386. **'There is none worthy of worship other than Allah.'**

387. **'Allah is Great!'**

388. **al-Maqdisi, *Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,* vol. 4, pp. 154-155**

389. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 4, p. 160**
390. **op. cit., vol. 6, p. 140**
391. **mangonel: a type of catapult**
392. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 134**
393. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 138, 139; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 260**
394. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 260**
395. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 261; Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 140**
396. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 143; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 261**
397. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 161; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 261**
398. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 162; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 262**
399. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 262**
400. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 231**
401. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 4, p. 232**
402. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 233**
403. **ibid.**
404. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 4, p. 236**
405. **ibid.**
406. **ibid.**
407. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 4, p. 238**
408. **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 262**
409. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 237; Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 183**
410. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 230; Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 183**
411. **Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 183**
412. **Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Misr wa Bilad ash-Sham,*** **p. 184**
413. **ibid.**
414. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 241; Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 184**
415. **Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 184**
416. **op. cit, p. 185**

[417] **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 185; Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 185**

[418] **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 252; Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 185**

[419] **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 168; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 265**

[420] **Ibn al-Atheer,** ***al-Kamil fit-Tareekh,*** **quoted in al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 266**

[421] **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 358; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 266**

[422] **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 196; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 266**

[423] **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 170, 171; al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 267**

[424] **Ibn al-Atheer,** ***al-Kamil fit-Tareekh,*** **quoted in: al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 267**

[425] **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 267**

[426] **al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 267**

[427] **op. cit., p. 268**

[428] **ibid.**

[429] **ibid.**

[430] **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 4, p. 245**

[431] **op. cit., vol. 4, p. 253**

[432] **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 184; Husayn,** ***al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi,*** **p. 465**

[433] **Qal'aji, Qadri,** ***Salah ad-Deen al-Ayyoobi,*** **p. 204**

[434] **Husayn,** ***al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi fee Ahd Salah ad-Deen,*** **p. 465**

[435] **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 185; Husayn,** ***al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi,*** **p. 466**

[436] **Husayn,** ***al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi fee Ahd Salah ad-Deen,*** **p. 466**

[437] **Ibid.**

[438] **ibid.**

[439] **Qal'aji,** ***Salah ad-Deen al-Ayyoobi,*** **p. 300**

[440] **ibid.**

[441] **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 177; Husayn,** ***al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi,*** **p. 467**

[442] **Husayn,** ***al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi,*** **p. 467**

443. **ibid.; *Al-Fath al-Qdsiy fil-Fathal-Qudsi,* p. 553**

444. **Husayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi,* p. 468**

445. **Ibn Shaddad, *an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,* p. 189**

446. **Taqqoosh, *Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyoon,* p. 189**

447. **ibid.**

448. **Ibn al-Atheer, *al-Kamil fit-Tareekh,* quoted in: Taqqoosh, *Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,* p. 190**

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451. **al-Ghamidi, *Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,* p. 270; Ibn Shaddad, *an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,* p. 184**

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453. **op. cit., p. 477**

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455. **Husayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi,* p. 478**

456. **ibid.**

457. **Ibn Shaddad, *an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,* p. 188**

458. **al-Hamawi, *Mu'jam al-Bulddn,* vol. 4, p. 122; *Athdr al-Bilad,* p. 222**

459. **Ibn Shaddad, *an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,* p. 189; al-Maqdisi, *Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,* vol. 2, p. 192**

460. **Husayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi,* p. 479**

461. **op. cit., p. 480**

462. **Ibn Shaddad, *an-Nawadir,* p. 192; Husayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi,* p. 480**

463. **Ibn Shaddad, *an-Nawadir,* p. 196-197; Husayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi,* p. 480**

464. **Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob,* vol. 2, p. 375; al-Maqdisi, *Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,* vol. *2,* p. 194**

465. **Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob,* vol. 2, p. 375; Husayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi,* p. 481**

466. **Ibn Shaddad, *an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,* p. 198**

467. **Husayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi,* p. 480; al-Maqdisi, *Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,* vol. *2,* p. 195**

468. **Ibn Shaddad, *an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,* p. 205; Husayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi,* p. 482**

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471. **Husayn,** ***al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi,*** **p. 482**

472. **Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 193**

473. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 292; Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 194**

474. **'Ashoor,** ***al-Harakah as-Saleebiyah,*** **vol. 2, p. 882**

475. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 293; Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 194**

476. **Husayn,** ***al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi,*** **p. 482**

477. **Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 194**

478. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 300, 301; Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 194**

479. **Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 195**

480. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 285, 286, 297**

481. **Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 195**

482. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 31; Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 195**

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484. **op. cit., p. 196**

485. **Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 196**

486. **ibid.**

487. **Ibn Wasil,** ***Mufarrij al-Kuroob,*** **vol. 2, p. 386; Husayn,** ***al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi,*** **p. 485**

488. **Ibn al-Jawzi,** ***Mir'at az-Zamdn,*** **vol. 8, p. 416; Husayn,** ***al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi,*** **p. 485**

489. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 217; Husayn,** ***al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi,*** **p. 485**

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491. **Ibn al-Atheer,** ***al-Kamil fit-Tareekh,*** **quoted in: Husayn,** ***al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi,*** **p. 486**

492. **Nuqoo': one of the villages of Jerusalem**

493. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir,*** **p. 217, 218; Husayn,** ***al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi,*** **p. 486**

494. **al-Hanbali,** ***Shifd' al-Quloob,*** **p. 175; Husayn,** ***al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi,*** **p. 487**

495. **Husayn,** ***al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi,*** **p. 487**

496. **Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Misr wa Bilad ash-Sham wal-Jazeerah,*** **p. 199**

497. **Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 199**

498. **op. cit., p. 199**

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500. **ibid.**
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502. **Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 201**
503. **Ibid.**
504. **Mustafa, Shakir,** ***Salah ad-Deen: al-Muftara 'alayhi,*** **p. 325**
505. **'Imran, Mahmoud,** ***Ma'alimTareekh al-Imbiratooriyah al-Beezantiyah,*** **p. 175**
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509. ***Tareekh al-Huroob as-Saleebiyah,*** **p. 178; al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 4, p. 286**
510. ***Tareekh al-Huroob as-Saleebiyah,*** **p. 179**
511. ***Tareekh al-Huroob as-Saleebiyah,*** **p. 181**
512. **op. cit., p. 182**
513. **ibid.**
514. **Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 202; 'Abdur-Rahman, 'Abdur-Rahman,** ***Ad-Deebloomdsiyah al-Isldmiyah,*** **p. 394**
515. **Al-Ghamidi,** ***Salah ad-Deen was-Saleebiyoon,*** **p. 280**
516. **Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 204**
517. **Taqqoosh,** ***Tareekh al-Ayyoobiyeen,*** **p. 205**
518. **ibid.**
519. **ibid.; al-'Umari, 'Abd al-'Azeez,** ***Al-Futooh al-Isldmiyah 'abr at-Tareekh,*** **p. 299**
520. **Le Bon, Gustave** ***La Civilisation des Arabes,*** **tr. 'Adil Zu'aytar, pp. 336-337; The 'quote' is a retranslation of the Arabic translation of a passage from Le Bon's work. (Editor)**
521. **al-Wakeel, Muhammad,** ***Asbdb al-Daf fil-Ummah al-Isldmiyah,*** **p. 219**
522. **Le Bon, op. cit., pp. 223-224; The 'quote' is a retranslation of the Arabic translation of a passage from Le Bon's work. (Editor)**
523. **al-Wakeel, p. 219**
524. **op. cit., p. 220**
525. **op. cit., p. 222**
526. **ibid**
527. **Ibn Katheer,** ***al-Bidayah wan-Nihayah,*** **quoted in: al-Wakeel, p. 222**
528. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 2, p. 149; an-Nasir,** ***Al-Jihad wat-Tajdeed,*** **p. 281**

529. **an-Nasir,** ***Al-Jihad wat-Tajdeed,*** **p. 281**
530. **ibid.**
531. ***Mu'dhaddt as-Sulh was-Saldm bayna al-Muslimeen wal-Firanj,*** **p. 43**
532. **op. c it., p. 57**
533. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p.233**
534. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 235;** ***Mu'dhaddt as-Sulh was-Saldm bayna al-Muslimeen wal-Firanj,*** **p. 58**
535. **Qal'aji, Qadri,** ***Salah ad-Deen al-Ayyoobi,*** **p. 329**
536. **ibid.**
537. **Zakkar,** ***al-Mawsoo'ah ash-Shamilah fee Tareekh al-Huroob as-Saleebiyah,*** **vol. 24, p.205**
538. **op. cit., vol. 4, p. 332**
539. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 4, p. 334**
540. **Ibn Katheer,** ***al-Bidayah wan-Nihayah,*** **vol. 16, p. 646**
541. **Two fortresses called Upper**and**Lower Habeeb, in Palestine**
542. **'Ayn al-Jarr: a place known as the Bekaa Valley between Baalbek** and **Damascus**
543. **Marj Yaboos: Yaboos is a mountain in Syria in Wadi al-Taym near Damascus**
544. **al-Arradah: a village at the top of the hill like a citadel, between Ra's 'Ayn**and**N**Say**bin**
545. **Ibn Katheer,** ***al-Bidayah wan-Nihayah,*** **vol. 16, p. 647**
546. **op. cit., vol. 16, p. 648**
547. **op. cit., vol. 16, p. 650**
548. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 4, p. 357**
549. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 419**
550. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 419**
551. **op. cit., p. 420**
552. **op. cit., p. 421**
553. ***shahadah:*** **testimony,** ***viz.*** **the statement** ***la ilaha illa Allah***
554. **Ibn Shaddad,** ***an-Nawadir as-Sultaniyah,*** **p. 422**
555. **ibid.**
556. **Ibn Shaddad, op.cit.**
557. **ibid.**
558. **Ibn Shaddad, op.cit.**
559. **Ibn Katheer,** ***al-Bidayah wan-Nihayah,*** **vol. 16, p. 653**
560. **ibid.**

561. **Zakkar,** ***al-Mawsoo'ah ash-Shamilah fee Tareekh al-Huroob as-Saleebiyah,*** **vol. 16, p. 216**

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563. **op. cit., vol. 16, p. 656**

564. **Ibn Tagharri, Yoosuf,** ***An-Nujoom adh-Dhdhirah fee Mulook Misr wal-Qdhirah,*** **vol. 6, pp. 52-53**

565. **Muslim, hadith no. 2956**

566. **al-Maqdisi,** ***Kitab ar-Rawdatayn,*** **vol. 4, p. 370**

567. **'Ashoor, Dr. Sa'eed 'Abd al-Fattah,** ***al-Harakah as-Saleebiyah,*** **p. 718**

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Appendix A

Timeline of Major Events

296 AH: 'Ubayd-Allah al-Mahdi sets up Shiite Fatimid
Caliphate in North Africa death of Abul Hasan al-Ash'ari — the scholar whose Sunni beliefs were followed by the Ayubid state

358 AH: Fatimids enter Egypt

443 AH: Demise of Fatimid State in North Africa title of Manzikert —Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan deals a blow to the Byzantine forces AH: The Bat

479 AH: The Battle of Sagrajas — Almoravids victory against Spanish Christians in Andalusia

488 AH: Pope Urban IPs speech that roused support for the first crusade Beginning of the first crusade 490 AH: Franks seize Antioch

492 AH: Jerusalem occupied by Crusaders tle of Merzifon — Seljuk Turks victory over the Crusaders AH: The Bat

494 AH: The first Battle of Heraclea — William, Count of Nevers, was dealt a total loss by the Seljuk Turks
The second Battle of Heraclea — French and German armies led by William IX Duke of Aquitaine and Welf IV Duke of Bavaria are defeated by the Seljuks.

497 AH: The Battle of Balikh — The Principality of Antioch and the County of Edessa under Crusader rule fought against the Seljuk Turks. The outcome was victory for the Muslims.

500 AH: The death of Kilij Arslan, the ruler of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum

513 AH: The Battle of Ager Sanguinis (The Field of Blood)
— Muslim victory over the Crusaders. The sheer amount of deaths on the side of the Crusaders inspired the name, 'Field of Blood.'

532 AH: The birth of Salah Ad Deen Al – Ayubi

539 AH: The conquest of Edessa by Imad ad Deen Zangi Jacobite Bishop Basil handed the city over to Zangi after 30 days of siege.

542 AH: Beginning of 2nd Crusade
The Seljuks destroy the German army — Sultan Mas'ood, Emir of the Seljuks of Rum, handed defeat to the Germans under Konrad III.

543 AH: Muslim victory of Damascus against Frankish forces of King Louis VII **AH:** Noor a **559 AH:** -Deen Zangi's first campaign against Egypt — to secure Egypt from Fatimid control (Salah ad-Deen, at age 17, joined this venture)
adDeen Zangi's second campaign against Egypt — Shawar, vizier of Cairo, sought help from Amalric I, King of Jerusalem agains Noor ad-Deen, but help did not come and Noor ad-Deen took control of western part of the country.

562 AH: The Battle of Babayn — The Franks and the Egyptians were defeated by the cunning military expertise of Noor ad-Deen's commander, Salah ad-Deen's uncle, Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh. The siege of Alexandria — Asad ad-Deen gained control without fighting. Salah ad-Deen appointed deputy in Alexandria

564 AH: Noor ad-Deen Zangi's third campaign against Egypt resulting in control of Egypt by Noor ad-Deen. Salah ad-Deen becomes vizier in Cairo

565 AH: The siege of Damietta — Franks besiege the city and Salah ad-Deen defends it ending in the defeat of the Franks.

567 AH: The death of the Fatimid ruler of Egypt, al-'Adid Abolishment of the Shiite Fatimid Caliphate Salah ad-Deen becomes ruler of Egypt Revival of Abbasid caliphate by Salah ad-Deen

568 AH: The death of Najm ad-Deen Ayub, Salah ad-Deen's father

569 AH: The death of Noor ad-Deen Zangi Salah ad-Deen conquers Yemen

570 AH: The Ayubid state begins First Shiite attempt to assassinate Salah ad-Deen 570572 AH: Crusader raids against Salah ad-Deen's posssession

571 AH: Peace deal between Salah ad-Deen and the Crusaders. Salah ad-Deen's annexation of Damascus. Second Shiite attempt to assassinate Salah ad-Deen

573 AH: Battle of ar-Ramlah — Salah ad-Deen was defeated by Reynald de Chatillon.

575 AH: The death of the Abbasid caliph al-Mustadi bi Amr- Illah The Battle of Tell al-Qadi — Victory by Salah ad-Deen over Raymond III and Baldwin IV. Truce between Salah ad-Deen and Baldwin IV calling for 2 years of peace

576 AH: The death of the scholar Hafidh Abul-Tahir as-Salafi al-Asbahani Salah ad-Deen enters Armenia

577 AH: The death of al-Malik as-Salih, the son of Noor ad- Deen Zangi

578 AH: Andronikos Komnenos becomes emperor of Byzantine state

579 AH: Salah ad-Deen's annexation of Aleppo

581 AH: Salah ad-Deen's annexation of Mosul Isaac Angelos becomes emperor of Byzantine state upon Komnenos' deposition and death

582 AH: Astrologers foretold that the world would end this year. The death of Baldwin V, which led to internal conflict between princes for the throne of Jerusalem Reynald de Chatillon breaks truce with Salah ad-Deen

583 AH: The Battle of Hattin — Salah ad-Deen's decisive victory over the Crusaders in which the King of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan was captured as well as Reynald de Chatillon, who was beheaded for his treachery
-The Battle of Sephoria — Huge losses for the Crusaders dealt by Salah ad-Deen
-The Liberation of Jerusalem by Salah ad-Deen
-The siege of Tyre — Salah ad-Deen besieged the city but the King, Conrad de Montferrat, had fortifications and would not surrender, resulting in Salah ad-Deen lifting the siege.

585 AH: The death of 'Abd-Allah Ibn Abi 'Asroon, scholar judge under Salah ad-Deen.
Beginning of the third crusade as a result of the loss at Hattin and the loss of Jerusalem
Germans enter Armenia

586 AH: Death of German Emperor, Fredrick Barbarossa, resulting in the fleeing of the Germans Crusaders besiege Acre

587 AH: The fall of Acre to the kings of England and France, Richard the Lionhearted and Philip Augustus.
The Battle of Arsuf — Between Richard the Lionhearted and Salah ad-Deen resulting in victory for Salah ad-Deen
The Destruction of Ascalon by Salah ad-Deen so that the Crusaders could not take it

588 AH: The Battle of Jaffa — Salah ad-Deen attacked Jaffa, the headquarters of the Crusaders, when Richard the Lionheart was absent. The Muslims took the city and the Crusaders had to seek a peace deal. The Treaty of ar-Ramlah — Between Richard the Lionheart and Salah ad-Deen; Richard leaves the Middle East for England.

589 AH: The death of Salah ad-Deen al-Ayubi

596 AH: The death of Qadi al-Fadil (Abu 'Ali 'Abd ar-Raheem al-'Asqallani), trusted advisor to Salah ad-Deen

Appendix B

Dynasties Mentioned in *Salah ad-Deen al-Ayubi*

Muslims

Abbasid Caliphate — This dynasty traces its genealogy to al-Abbas, the son of Abd al-Muttalib. Al-Abbas was the brother of 'Abd-Allah, father of the Muhammad (SAAW). It ruled much of the Arabian Peninsula and had its territory expanded under Salah ad-Deen al-Ayubi's leadership. Salah ad-Deen pledged allegiance to the caliph al-Mustadi and upon his death, his son, the caliph Abul-'Abbas Ahmad ibn al-Mustadi, also known as an-Nasir li Deen-Illah.

Shiite Fatimid Caliphate — This dynasty began with 'Ubayd-Allah al-Mahdi. He claims descent from 'Ali and Fatimah, the cousin and daughter respectively of the Muhammad (SAAW). The last ruler of this dynasty was al-'Adid, who was succeeded by Salah ad-Deen as the ruler of Egypt.

The Great Seljuk Empire — This Empire of Seljuk Turks was divided into the Sultanate of Rum (Anatolia), the Sultanate of Syria, and the Sultanates of Kerman (Southern Persia) and Hamadan (Western Persia). Sulayman ibn Kutalmish established the Sultanate of Rum. He was a distant cousin of Malikshah, the son of Alp Arslan, the first of the sultans of the entire Seljuk state.

Sulayman's son, Kilij Arslan I, became the Sultan of Rum upon his father's death. Kilij Arslan fought the French and Germans in the first crusade. His brother, Malikshah succeeded him. Malikshah was succeeded by Rukn ad-Deen Mas'ood, Kilij Arslan's son, who defeated the Germans in the second crusade. Tzz ad-Deen Kilij Arslan II became sultan after his father Mas'ood. Kilij Arslan II fought the Byzantine army led by Manuel Komnenos during the second crusade and achieved a decisive victory. He also had conflicts with Salah ad-Deen over territory.

Zangid Dynasty — This dynasty branched from the Seljuk Turk dynasty. It reached its extent under Noor ad-Deen Zangi. His father was Imad ad-Deen Zangi, the regent of Aleppo and Mosul, and one of the great military leaders of the Seljuk Turks. Noor ad-Deen's brother was Saif ad-Deen Ghazi. Upon Noor ad-Deen's death, his son, al-Malik as-Salih took the reigns until his death when Salah ad-Deen united Muslim lands under his own leadership.

Ayubid Dynasty — This dynasty began with Salah ad-Deen Yusuf ibn Ayub in 570 AH. It paid allegiance to the Abbasid caliphate. Salah ad-Deen was the son of Najm ad-Deen Ayub. Najm ad-Deen and his brother, Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh, both served under Noor ad-Deen Zangi. The Ayubid family was of Kurdish origin.

Crusaders

Kingdom of England — William the Conqueror's son, Henry I had a daughter named Matilda the Empress. She married Geoffrey I Plantagenet and their son, Henry II, was the father of the famed Richard the Lionhearted. Richard fought Salah ad-Deen al-Ayubi in the third crusade. The end result of their contest was a draw, with Richard leaving the Middle East. Kingdom

of France — King Louis VI's son, Louis VII took part in the second crusade. His son, Philip Augustus, joined forces with Richard the Lionhearted during the third crusade against Salah ad-Deen.

Roman Empire of the German Nation (known as the Holy Roman Empire) — Henry III, the King of Germany and the Emperor of the 'Holy' Roman Empire had Henry IV, who was the father of Agnes of Germany. She married Frederick I, Duke of Swabia, and their son Konrad III fought in the second crusade against the Seljuk Turks. His brother was Frederick II, whose son, Frederick Barbarossa, took part in the third crusade against Salah ad-Deen. He drowned in a river while campaigning and his army fled as a result.

Byzantine Empire — The line of Byzantine emperors who ruled during, and took part in, the first three crusades is: Alexios I Komnenos, John II Komnenos (the son of Alexios I), Manuel I Komnenos (son of John II), Alexios II Komnenos (son of Manuel I), Andronikos Komnenos (Manuel's cousin and son of Prince Isaac Komnenos), Isaac I Angelos (great grandson of Alexios I).
Kingdom of Jerusalem — King Fulk's son Baldwin III became king after his father and was succeeded by his brother, Amalric I. Amalric sided with the Fatimids against Noor ad-Deen Zangi. Amalric's son Baldwin IV, who was a leper, fought Salah ad-Deen in the second crusade. Upon Baldwin IVs death, his nephew Baldwin V became king. He was known as the child-king because he was only 6 years old. He died only a year later andupon his death, Baldwin IVs sister, Sibylla, who was Baldwin the Vs mother, insisted that her husband, Guy de Lusignan take over as king. Guy was captured by Salah ad-Deen at the Battle of Hattin.

Appendix C

Map of the Empire of Salah ad-Deen al-Ayubi (see next page)

EMPIRE OF SALAH AD-DEEN AL-AYUBI Late 12th century CE (6th century AH)

The Empire of Salah ad-Deen al-Ayubi

